



International School for Women Trade Union Leaders, organized by ICFTU at the Unesco Workers' Education Centre, La Brevière, 1952.
(Photo: USIS.)

Great care should be taken also in using them as a basis for comparisons between countries. In many cases the articles only describe one aspect of workers' education in a certain country.

The articles are of two kinds. Some present a general survey of workers' education in a given setting; others attempt to describe and analyse special methods which have proved useful and applicable. It is interesting to note the difference in approach between, for instance, workers' education in the United States and in Scandinavia. In the article from the United States a rather clear distinction between workers' education and general adult education is made, whereas in the article from Finland it is strongly stressed that workers' education should be given so wide a scope that it forms part of general adult education. The reason for these different approaches may partly be found in tradition. In Scandinavia, the workers' organizations from their beginnings have laid much stress on education of their members and created educational organs of their own. In the United States, universities have shown great interest in general adult education and taken the responsibility for an activity which is accessible to all groups. This may be one reason why the workers' organizations have had reason to confine their activities in the choice of subjects. In both cases, however, it has been possible to make a considerable contribution to raising the educational standard in workers' groups.

Several articles show the important role that residential centres can play in the development of workers' education. The Danish folk high school has given rise to other centres in Scandinavia and in some measure in the German Federal Republic. In this connexion the establishment in France of the Workers' Institute at the University of Strasbourg is also of great interest.

Training by correspondence is a method which has been widely used in workers' education. Its usefulness is clearly indicated in the articles from Sweden, Poland and the U.S.S.R. Moreover, the latter two articles describe interesting ways of giving workers an opportunity of a higher formal education than the regular school system can offer them in many countries.

Workers' education has old traditions in the United Kingdom where this education has developed in close relation with universities. The article by Dr. Raybould describes and analyses a form used in this educational work which has been a sign of the aspiration of British workers' education to rise to the level of university studies.

The tension between different concepts as to the content and purpose of workers' education is reflected in different ways in some of the articles and is analysed in Mr. Hely's discussion of the relationship between adult and workers' education.

It is encouraging to note the great interest international problems have for workers' education. In itself this is not surprising, as organized labour even in its early days included international co-operation in its programme. The attentive reader of this issue will notice that political and economic problems as well as the problems of peaceful co-operation in different cultural fields are included in workers' education programmes in many countries. It is one of the main tasks of Unesco in its co-operation with workers' organizations to further interest in such problems. This may be done in different ways: by encouraging the publishing of study material which present facts and problems of an international character; by co-operating in the development of methods and aids for international studies; by taking part in the training of adult education leaders and teachers in such subjects. A well developed workers' education is an instrument for the work for peace. A wider knowledge furthers as a rule a wider outlook, counteracts prejudices, and strengthens self-confidence and the spirit of co-operation. Workers' education can be a determining factor in shaping national and international climates of opinion.

In presenting a collection of articles on national experience in particular aspects of workers' education, this issue of the bulletin of course cannot be in any sense comprehensive. An example of important activities not covered is the work of the International Labour Organisation in this field. The ILO Constitution places upon it a responsibility for promoting the organization of technical and vocational education and for furthering programmes aimed at ensuring equality of educational opportunity. At its 33rd session in 1950 the International Labour Conference adopted a resolution calling on the ILO to take all appropriate measures to promote opportunities for workers to be educated in order to enable them to participate more effectively in various workers' movements and to fulfil more adequately their trade union and other functions which the workers' organizations are exercising in view of their increasingly important role in the social and economic framework of modern societies. To give effect to these directives the ILO initiated a Workers' Education Programme in 1956 which is in fact a continuation and expansion of certain workers' educational activities undertaken by it since its establishment in 1919. This programme is continuing in 1957 and 1958 and covers a variety of activities, including the organization of and participation in seminars, courses, etc., in collaboration with international and national trade union organizations and workers' education associations (in many cases in co-operation with Unesco); the convening of a Meeting of Experts in Workers' Education in 1957; provision of advisory services in the planning of workers' education; publication and translation of workers' education courses; collection and loan of films and other audio-visual aids and other forms of technical aid to bodies engaged in workers' education. Collaboration with Unesco is maintained on matters of common interest in this field.

Once more we point out to our readers that owing to the bulk of the articles printed our Notes and Records Section has been held over.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADULT AND WORKERS' EDUCATION

A. S. M. HELY

THE NATURE OF ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education covers all the learning processes of adults after completion of the period of formal schooling, whether that formal schooling ends with primary school, post-primary school or includes university training. In this sense it is taken for granted that education is a lifelong process. The knowledge and skills acquired during the years spent in primary or secondary schools or even at university cannot provide the adult with a stock of knowledge which will enable him to master all the problems he will meet throughout the rest of his life. As Lyman Bryson puts it in his book *Adult Education*, 'it is impossible to teach a college youth of eighteen how to meet all the problems of a middle-aged man of fifty'. Throughout life there is a constant need for adjustment to vocational responsibilities, to marriage, parenthood and to social and political responsibilities.

Individuals may cease to learn, or fail to learn all that is necessary if they are to adjust themselves to the demands of a changing environment, but on the whole the adult community does attempt to meet this challenge. Adults in general are eager to learn, although they may fail to recognize these learning processes as being 'education'. Much adult education, after all, is a rather informal unorganized affair far removed from class-room instruction. Through day-to-day experience in living, through trial and error, through knowledge transmitted informally from the old and the young, through endless exchange of experience between colleagues, neighbours and friends in casual discussions, the adult is brought into contact with new ideas, new ways of doing things, new concepts and new facts. The individual is throughout life constantly being forced to such fresh knowledge and skills to aid him in meeting the problems which rise to trouble and perplex him as a responsible adult. The process is continuous and lifelong, it is clearly an educational process, and as it is concerned with the adult after the period of normal schooling it must be counted as adult education.

Even if we agree, we must still ask whether this is in fact what we have in mind when we talk of 'adult education', particularly when we are seeking to examine the relationship between 'adult education' on the one hand and 'workers' education' on the other. The term 'adult education' today is used perhaps in a more restricted and technical sense to cover 'organized' provision for the education of adults. It embraces the whole complex array of educational institutions, professional or semi-professional bodies and voluntary organizations concerned with providing educational services to adults.

The greater awareness of the truth that adults have educational needs which cannot be satisfied by the educational training they may have received during the period of their formal schooling, no matter how adequate or comprehensive such schooling might be, has concentrated attention on the provision of organized adult education services. The tendency to restrict the meaning of the term 'adult education', in a limited sense at least, to 'organized' adult education is a natural if not inevitable by-product of the change in stress.

'Adult education' is concerned then with all the many agencies of adult education and with the bewildering range of educational programmes they provide. A few organizations, both voluntary and public ones, concern themselves with the whole field of adult education. None, however, no matter how wide the range of their interests, attempts in practice to provide educational services which meet all needs. The adult education needs of adults are so varied and must be serviced at so many levels that no single organization or institute could provide complete coverage. There must be specialization of function. Some institutions, e.g., public schools or universities, cover a wide range of subject interests at a particular level. Others cover a narrower field but offer services

Trade union leaders from Switzerland and U.S.A. address French workers at the Trade Union School held at Unesco La Brevière Centre, 1952. (Photo: USIS.)



within that field at a number of levels. Some concentrate on a single-interest field, such as music, drama, international affairs, ornithology. Some concentrate on vocational and professional training. Others limit their activities to the humanities or liberal arts while others are concerned with family and parent education.

WORKERS' AND ADULT EDUCATION

A number of organizations and institutions are created to meet the educational needs of special community groups and are characterized therefore not by the breadth or narrowness of the subject fields they cover but rather by the nature of the community group they set out to serve. Obviously 'workers' education' comes within this category. The organizations active in the field of workers' education, irrespective of the scope of their programmes, are concerned with the provision of educational assistance to a limited, though large, section of the adult population—the workers. Here we find the relationship between 'adult education' and 'workers' education'. Workers' education represents a special branch of adult education concerned with the organizations which set out to provide all or part of the educational services required by a special adult group in the community.

Some institutions and organizations concerned with adult education arise to meet a specific need. It might be useful at this stage to draw a distinction between such special needs of a temporary character and the more continuing and permanent needs, for such a distinction is not without relevance to the present position of workers' education. Much of the earlier work in adult education in most countries (and in fact much of the work in some countries today) was designed to help adults overcome deficiencies in education. It was remedial in character and aimed at helping the educationally underprivileged adult to overcome the lack of reasonable schooling as a child or adolescent. Adult literacy programmes of the Adult Schools of the nineteenth century in Great Britain and the literacy campaigns of the fundamental education programmes in a number of countries today are examples. A high proportion of the services provided by adult education agencies in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were concerned with the assimilation of migrants from other lands.

Many of the programmes in workers' education too were designed to provide adult workers with the educational opportunities which members of other social groups had open to them in their youth. With social changes and with greater stress on educational equality, the old needs may become less urgent. Workers' educational organizations set up to meet the earlier need may continue to exist but their programmes and policy gradually change. Their name and constitution remain but the purposes and people they serve have altered. They have become part of the general adult education pattern,

they are concerned with the 'continuing' education of adults rather than 'remedial' education for workers, and if they differ from other adult education organizations it is in terms of name and historical development rather than in terms of the group they serve or the services they provide.

Workers' education is then part of adult education, i.e., it is concerned with adult education services for a special community group—the adult worker. So long as the worker feels part of an underprivileged or exploited group he is unlikely to be satisfied with the educational facilities made available by the State or by other community groups. He will want educational facilities directed to meeting his own special needs. He will insist upon the educational organization being controlled by those in whom he has confidence and he will need some assurance that he can influence the nature of the policy followed or the programme provided.

In considering the relationship of adult education to workers' education it will be convenient to examine workers' education under two headings: (a) educational services provided for adult workers by special workers' educational organizations which do not differ to any marked degree from those provided by other adult education agencies for other sections of the community; (b) those services which meet special needs of workers, i.e., needs which are distinct from the needs of other social groups in the community.

GENERAL EDUCATION FOR WORKERS

There are a number of reasons why workers may feel reluctant to take advantage of the adult education services provided for the community generally. Because of differences in speech, educational training or cultural background they may feel both uncomfortable and at a disadvantage when they try to participate in educational activities with other sections of the community. They may feel that the general adult education services may have a conscious or unconscious bias in favour of the *status quo* whereas they see workers' education as 'a dynamic of social change'. They may feel suspicious of the programmes and policy of general adult education organizations and prefer to create their own educational agencies which they can influence or control. The strength of these attitudes depends to a great extent upon the degree to which workers feel conscious of being members of a depressed and exploited group and will therefore vary from country to country and from time to time according to social and economic developments.

In many of the newer countries the educational system has from the beginning been a little more democratic and equalitarian than is the case in some of the older countries. This is true of the United States for example, and as a result workers there are more accustomed to taking advantage of the educational facilities provided for the community as a whole. There has been little demand for the creation of a special workers' education organization of the type established in Great Britain or certain European countries. The American Labor Education Services differ markedly from the European workers' educational organizations and lack the network of branches and student workers characteristic of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) in the United Kingdom.

With the widening of the franchise, with the increasing power of workers' organizations to influence political policy, with the emergence of the welfare state and a greater degree of educational equality, the worker no longer feels quite the same need for a separate workers' educational organization. As the worker's status and position in society improve he is more inclined to satisfy most of his needs for continuing education through the services made available to the community as a whole, rather than to seek it through specific workers' educational organizations aimed at him as a member of a particular social group. His needs for additional vocational training can be met through technical institutions or evening institutes. He will share with other citizens the facilities of libraries, museums and art galleries. He has access to the programmes of radio and television. He joins the community organizations in his neighbourhood and on the whole prefers to join those which appeal to him as a member of that community, as a citizen,

rather than those which appeal to him as a member of a special group. In shop, mine or factory he is a worker; in his suburban or neighbourhood community he is a citizen. His class loyalty will still reflect itself in membership of workers' organizations such as trade unions and political parties, but it no longer colours every activity and action.

This has been true for some time in several countries, e.g., the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand. It is becoming increasingly true in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries and there are signs of the same development in other European countries. In some of the so-called economically underdeveloped countries, where giant efforts are being made to catch up with the more advanced countries in the social and educational fields as well as industrially, there will be for some time to come the need for special workers' education programmes. It is possible that confidence in the intentions and integrity of government will obviate the need for the creation of special independent workers' educational organizations. There will be special programmes aimed at workers but they will be provided through the normal community adult education facilities or institutions.

SPECIAL EDUCATION FOR WORKERS

So much for workers' education of the first type, i.e., the services which do not differ in any marked degree from the adult education services provided for other sections of the community. But even if many of the workers' needs for continuous education in the vocational, recreational and cultural fields may in time be met most satisfactorily through facilities provided for the whole community and through institutions serving all social groups rather than through those established to meet the needs of single social groups, it does not follow that the need for workers' education will no longer exist. One of the lessons that the workers' movements in various countries are learning is that the provision of a more equalitarian educational system does not necessarily solve the problems of a trained and educated leadership for workers' organizations. While wider educational opportunities may reduce the number of workers' children who are excluded from the advantages of higher education by economic factors, there is no assurance that the bright children from workers' families who reach university will return to the workers' organizations as leaders. They are more likely to study for a professional career and move into another social group. Leaders for the workers' movement must still emerge from the pit or leave the bench and receive their educational training as adults.

Workers' education under these circumstances tends to concentrate on the practical training of leadership in workers' organizations at all levels. This represents a 'continuous' need from stage to stage during life and from generation to generation. Much of the most successful work undertaken today in the field of workers' education lies in this area. Much of it is organized directly by trade unions, some is financed by trade unions in co-operation with workers' educational associations, some arranged by trade unions or workers' organizations in direct co-operation with universities and other educational institutions.

However narrowly or broadly we define the term 'workers', the workers will remain one of the largest social groups in the community. No matter how far we equalize educational opportunities, workers will still have educational needs of their own which can best be met through adult educational services. In a democracy the workers, as one of the largest social groups, will exercise great influence, their organizations and leaders wield increasing power. It is important to the stability and advancement of the State that their power be used wisely and justly. It is to the advantage of the community that the leaders of the workers' movement get the educational training which will fit them to shoulder their responsibilities. Their training is within the sphere of adult education. Special thought and effort must be given to 'workers' education' in the future even though social, economic and educational changes appear at first glance to make the distinction between 'adult education' and 'workers' education' less necessary.

THE AFL-CIO WORKERS' EDUCATION PROGRAMME

JOHN D. CONNORS

'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.'—Preamble to the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Because this is true and because men must know in order to understand, the American trade union movement has always put emphasis on trade union education. In the United States, this means trying to help ourselves, through our unions, to know better how to live with our neighbours, how to strengthen our solidarity with workers in other countries, and how to operate our union better for the benefit of all of the members.

In the U.S.A. 'workers' education' is defined less broadly, however, than in some other countries. Here we do not, usually, mean it to include cultural studies or pursuit of knowledge of the humanities. Likewise, vocational education and apprenticeship programmes are things apart. American usage of the term 'workers' education' covers education in trade unionism, as such, and all of the broad interests of a free trade union. As unions have broadened out from exclusive concern with collective bargaining to consideration of wide social, economic, and world problems, so their education programmes have expanded in scope. Essentially, however, like the movement of which it is a part, the AFL-CIO's¹ workers' education programme is primarily dedicated to improving our free society by gaining more of the good things of life for our members.

The value of workers' education is demonstrated by its increasing expansion within the U.S. free trade union movement. Only a dozen years ago not a single state federation of labour or state industrial union council had an education department. Today twenty-one state central organizations have education directors. Twelve years ago only a handful of the national and international unions had education directors. Today fully one-half of the 139 international and national unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO have education departments, with most of the others assigning responsibility for union education to a top officer.

Many city central organizations, operating through education committees, now carry on permanent education programmes. Usually these take the form of week-end institutes and classes for the delegates. Thousands of local organizations conduct education programmes for their officers and members throughout the year, through their own education committees. So important is the local education committee that it can well be considered the cornerstone of all trade union education.

Today the AFL-CIO Department of Education handles an ever-growing number of requests for aid in planning programmes. These requests come from national and international unions, state and city central organizations and local unions. Federal and industrial local unions are serviced directly; local unions affiliated with an international or national union are serviced through their international where the over-all group has an education programme.

The form of the projects varies widely. They range from national education conferences, through regional and state resident schools, sectional and city-level institutes and trade council seminars, to local union classes. They include training for international representatives, local unions' business representatives, and officers of state and local centrals, and range through continuing, in-meeting classes for the membership. New-member orientation courses and steward training are always popular projects.

Subjects reflect the growing scope of organized labour's interests. A basic goal is helping trade unionists to understand the history and aims of the labour movement.

1. American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations.

A class in the School for Workers, University of Wisconsin.



Traditional bread-and-butter subjects, such as collective bargaining and grievance procedure, are usually included, as are such topics as public speaking and parliamentary law.

Educational projects include consumer guidance and studies of medical costs and facilities. Political action and the facts behind the issues are of particular importance, with the voting records of candidates forming the basis for these discussions. Social problems such as inter-group relations, housing and community service work are gaining in popularity as study subjects.

The study of basic economic concepts is a usual agenda item. A subject of growing concern is that of problems of the ageing member and his family. One of the paramount topics in workers' education today is the study of world affairs—the struggle for liberty against totalitarianism and the role of the free trade unions.

These projects are conducted in whatever form and with whatever techniques are best suited to the organization to be served. The hallmark of workers' education is flexibility. Standard forms include the resident school on a campus or at a summer camp, the week-end institute and the discussion session in the union hall.

Those responsible for workers' education improvise and experiment constantly. They use 'buzz' sessions, debates and role playing. They arrange lectures, open forums and panel discussions. They hold conferences, seminars and discussions based on specific readings, or radio or television programmes which are integrated into their project. Literature mailings, locals' newsletters, labour newspapers and varieties of timely charts, graphs and posters are utilized—and can be made attractive.

Co-operation with the public library can serve the members in a variety of ways. Films, filmstrips, slides, records and tape recordings can also play an important part in a labour education programme—when properly used as aids to discussion. Like all devices and techniques, audio-visual aids have a single justification—to aid discussion. It may not be wrong to measure a project's success by the degree of participation of those in attendance.

Most of the thousands of trade unionists working full or part-time in labour education see their programmes as an integral part of their own organization's total programme. Labour education is a tool to be used for the good of the member of the trade union. It can be turned to many uses, as the list of topics mentioned above suggests.

Workers' education is an instrument of policy which serves the individual member by strengthening his or her union. Accordingly, each programme should start with a clear understanding of the problems and policies of the group it is meant to serve. As it progresses, it must be constantly re-evaluated to be sure it is advancing the policy of the organization and the well-being of the member. Like the labour movement of which it

is a part, workers' education has one reason for existence—to serve the member.

In addition to the substantial time and effort being devoted to labour education by the trade unions of the AFL-CIO, there is a programme of union education carried on by the universities. The chief academic programmes are those of the universities with special staff assigned to work in the field of union education. These specialists hold resident schools on campus, arrange week-end institutes and hold extension or off-campus classes on an increasing scale. Some prepare literature and other materials as well as audio-visual aids.

The most successful university programmes operate with the active assistance of a union-appointed Labour Advisory Committee. These committees have come to be considered an essential of an effective university-sponsored labour education programme.

The role of the AFL-CIO Department of Education in all this activity is to assist affiliated organizations in developing their own educational programmes. In addition, the department has responsibilities in public education, vocational education and apprenticeship training, with the liaison work that these activities imply. It co-operates with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and appropriate agencies of the United States Government in furthering the education programmes of free trade unions in other countries. A special effort is made to inform our entire membership on the aims of the AFL-CIO itself.

All these functions are important, and some have dramatic results. It is a happy fact, for example, that well over 100 scholarships are offered by AFL-CIO state and city central bodies and locals. Scholarships of the state central organizations are usually awarded to graduating seniors of private and public high schools—on the basis of examination contests—to help students continue their education in college.

An important dividend of this programme is the study of trade unionism it encourages in the high schools, since examinations are based on labour history, union structure and the like. This year, for example, hundreds of high schools and several thousand students studied the labour movement and took part in these contests, from Massachusetts to Oregon.

Important, however, though all these functions are, the greatest part of our time in the Department of Education is devoted to assisting affiliated organizations develop their own education programmes.

As planning progresses, the AFL-CIO film library of approximately 200 titles is at the disposal of the affiliated organization. In addition to labour movies, there is a wide selection of filmstrips on topics of interest to members. Lesson plans, manuals, discussion guides and course outlines are made available, as are other AFL-CIO publications.

Members of the department staff may be assigned to teach in the project once it is ready for implementation. In some cases, staff members of other AFL-CIO Departments



Training in negotiation.

also serve as instructors in their own subject areas. Suggestions for the all-important follow-up and carry-over are advanced.

In order to keep affiliates abreast of developments in workers' education, a monthly publication, *Education News and Views*, is mailed to these organizations.

That is, in broad outline, where trade union education stands in the United States today. It is a significant, concrete and large-scale effort, which is directed toward serving the members of our unions, their families and their country.¹

THE FINNISH WORKERS' INSTITUTES AND COLLEGES

R. H. OITTINEN

In the Scandinavian countries, both adult education and the workers' educational institutions, which are the essential feature of the system, have behind them a cultural heritage shared by these four countries (Finland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden) and display similar characteristics in all.

THE TRADITION OF THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS

It was during the first half of the nineteenth century that, parallel to the spread of public education proper, and more particularly of primary schooling, the first steps were taken to provide education for adults. The development of adult education in the Scandinavian countries has been principally influenced by the first 'folk high school', founded by a Dane, N. F. S. Grundtvig. From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, institutions of this type spread throughout the Scandinavian countries.

One of the fundamental aims of the Danish folk high schools is to provide for a balanced development of the personality, help towards a deeper appreciation of life and foster the sense of social responsibility by means of combined practical and theoretical instruction in residential establishments designed primarily for young country people but giving facilities also for young townspeople. Folk high schools are classed as non-vocational schools, and this is the distinctive feature of adult education in the Scandinavian countries and, in particular, of the workers' educational institutions, although there is in fact a tendency for increasing emphasis to be placed on practical instruction and indeed on vocational training.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE DESIRE FOR EDUCATION AMONG THE WORKERS

The industrial revolution in the Scandinavian countries took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. The number of industrial and urban workers then rose rapidly, giving rise to new problems. The new working class, carrying on the democratic peasant tradition, showed a very keen interest in social and political problems. It was impossible to discount that class as a social force, and the governing class therefore endeavoured to keep a guiding hand on public opinion and the organization of these great numbers of workers. In all the Scandinavian countries there was a very strong

1. For additional information on the educational programme of the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, see *Labor Education*, by Joseph Mire, published by the Inter-University Labor Education Committee.

educational bias, at the outset, in these endeavours. The workers had to be educated in order to ensure that they did not become a danger to society. Moreover, those who represented the more advanced trends of democracy wished to forge the workers into a united group which could give new vitality to society and, for that purpose too, it was necessary to educate them. The liberal intellectuals also, in their conflicts with conservative circles, sought support from the workers who were gradually becoming organized. All these groups, each in its own way, helped to raise the educational standards of the working class.

The nature of the educational work thus begun was necessarily determined by the workers' needs. Public education left much to be desired, and it was therefore necessary to improve their basic knowledge in various ways, particularly in writing and arithmetic. At the same time, importance was attached to broadening their general background of knowledge, with the object of training public opinion on social questions and social ethics. Due respect was accorded to the idea of knowledge for its own sake and, as the workers stood in great need of such knowledge, it was thought well to impart learning to them in all subjects. This explains why, in the early days, there was little system in workers' education, which consisted principally in popularizing the classic, and indeed academic, branches of knowledge.

Characteristic of the educational work of the nineteenth century was the idealistic movement of the young university graduates who sought to develop education among both peasants and urban workers but who, in many cases, were guided by their own enthusiasm as specialists rather than by the most pressing intellectual needs of the students. This sort of workers' education also helped to spread the idea of using free time sensibly and profitably. The method of education followed was the lecture system. The object was to develop a love of reading. Efforts were also made to organize discussions and musical evenings. Generally speaking, the peasants and workers took only a passive part. All this work, incidentally, was organized on a makeshift basis, and the movement is of more interest for the light it throws on the trends of the period than for the contribution it made to education.

THE IDEA OF WORKERS' INSTITUTES

Concern for a sound educational system and methods began to develop in the late nineteenth century, and it was then that consideration was given to more organized arrangements for workers' education. The residential folk high school system could not be converted, as it stood, to the great task of educating the working class, but it nevertheless provided a great deal of material on which to build, in the sphere of theory and action alike.

In adapting the Scandinavian folk high school tradition to the needs of workers and town-dwellers a dominant role was to be played by the Swedish doctor, Anton Nyström. It was at his instance that the Stockholm Workers' Institute was founded in 1880, with the object of arousing the workers' interest in education.

Dr. Nyström kept to the basic idea of the folk high schools, as he aimed not only at spreading knowledge and meeting intellectual needs but also at promoting the development of the whole personality. He accordingly organized evening classes designed to give some idea of different branches of culture—history, social life, natural science, etc. At the same time, he sought to develop an appreciation of aesthetic values among workers, particularly through music. As a doctor with a deep interest in the physical sciences, Nyström tended to attribute more importance to the liberal, scientific doctrines of the period than was common among the folk high schools in general, for the movement, which was essentially idealistic, religious and nationalistic, gave first place to humanistic considerations.

The workers' institutes provided instruction in the form of evening classes, at which students met regularly to hear a series of lectures. In the interests of continuity, and to

Väinö Voionmaa College. A poetry class in the library of the college. (Photo: Staf, Helsinki.)



provide a broader training for those taking part, performances of music and discussion groups were also organized. For the same reason, it was felt necessary for the institutes to have permanent premises and a full-time director.

From Stockholm, the idea of these institutes spread out to certain other large towns in Sweden and, in a short time, to the other Scandinavian countries. In Norway, the first institute, known as the *Folk Akademi*, was founded in Oslo in 1885. The idea did not make much headway in Denmark but took root in Finland and there developed steadily from the foundation of the first workers' institute, at Tampere, in 1899.

WORKERS' INSTITUTES IN FINLAND

In Finland the movement began at the municipal level. The first workers' institutes were established and financed by town councils but they were strongly supported, and in a few cases actually established, by the working class, which was then becoming organized. The hall of the community centre or some other building available to the local trade unions was often chosen for the lecture theatre. Account was also taken of the needs of trade union members in the choice of subjects, without detriment, however, to the principle of political neutrality.

The civil war in Finland in 1918 was to influence the country's domestic development and, more particularly, the development of the workers' colleges, in many respects. Everything connected in any way with the labour movement was considered dangerous by the parties of the right and indeed by the authorities. The general attitude of hostility towards the movement resulted in a tendency, from the 1920s onwards, for the existing municipal workers' institutes to emphasize their neutrality and to avoid direct contacts with the trade unions.

At the same time, other trends became apparent, leading directly or indirectly to a limitation of the influence of the socialist movement. Other establishments came into being, organized on exactly the same lines as the workers' institutes, but known as 'free colleges' or 'civic colleges' to show that they had no ties with the labour movement. Several of these institutes were substantially supported by industrialists. On the other hand, in cities and small towns where the municipal corporation was controlled by the workers, communal workers' institutes were established with the object of raising the educational level of the working classes and drawing their attention to problems of municipal policy and a variety of social questions. A substantial contribution to the workers' institute movement was made by the institutes founded by the Christian Labour Centre.

The workers' institute movement has steadily developed. The periods when it has

flourished most have come mainly after the most serious national crises. The first such period was in the years following the general strike of 1905, at the time when the introduction of universal suffrage was increasing public interest in political and social questions. The second period came after the country had won its independence, in 1917, from which date political and municipal life changed completely. The third great period followed the second world war, at the time when the spiritual strengthening of the nation was becoming a matter of urgency.

The number of students attending the workers' institutes varies greatly. In some small places it may be scarcely more than 150 or 200, whereas in the large towns the figure may be 1,000 or 2,000 and, in Helsinki, is over 5,000. Not all those enrolled are 'active students', but all attend lectures or discussion meetings or take part in social events. A general idea of the development of these institutes may be gained from the following table.

Academic Year	Institutes					Students					Full-time teachers
	Communal	Private	Christian	Finnish	Swedish	Total	Men	Women	Finnish	Swedish	
1910-11	7	1	1	7	1	8	-	-	-	-	-
1920-21	17	4	3	20	4	24	-	-	-	-	-
1924-25	21	6	4	27	4	31	-	-	-	-	-
1930-31	25	10	3	34	4	38	5 628	10 184	14 238	1 574	15 812
1934-35	22	13	6	37	4	41	6 993	12 560	17 572	1 981	19 553
1938-39	24	14	11	43	6	49	6 686	14 107	18 437	2 356	20 793
1940-41	21	11	11	37	6	43	5 970	14 110	17 736	2 344	20 080
1944-45	23	14	15	45	7	52	7 561	15 332	20 471	2 422	22 893
1950-51	52	27	19	84	14	98	14 490	27 926	38 377	4 039	42 416
1954-55	57	26	19	87	15	102	15 532	34 457	43 664	6 325	49 989
											151

The methods used by the workers' institutes have changed considerably in the sixty years or so that these institutes have been in existence. At the beginning, lectures were the main item in their work, being held mainly on Sundays but also on week days in the evenings.

From the outset, students had the opportunity of learning certain important subjects such as arithmetic, book-keeping and, soon afterwards, modern languages (beginning with Swedish, Finland's second national language). The programme was then extended, and singing, recitation, public speaking, dramatics, gymnastics, folk dancing, etc., were introduced. Vocational training was begun, first of all with drawing classes and domestic economy courses for women. The time and attention accorded to these latter subjects grew from the 1920s onward, while a definite decline in the interest in lectures began.

Alongside the formal courses 'study circles' have played an important part in the workers' institutes; these are groups in which either a specialist assigned for the purpose gives a talk, followed by a general discussion, or the students, as well as the organizer himself, present short reports. Work may also be based on a book which the students read at home or of which someone gives an account followed by a discussion. Extra reading is generally done in addition to the study of the set book. Study circles generally choose social science subjects for discussion. Questions relating to municipal policy are very popular, as are *belles-lettres* and literary history.

Students at workers' institutes have formed associations carrying on a variety of activities, organizing social functions, enabling their members to go to the theatre or to visit exhibitions of paintings, sculpture, etc. In several institutes, the organizers take an interest in these associations or make a contribution to the financing of their activities.



The Finnish workers' institutes have always been fairly stable institutions. They have been run by permanent directors who have been university graduates and, generally speaking, have devoted the major part of their time to this work. In the largest institutes there are now also established teachers and instructors. Secondary school teachers, civil servants or social welfare workers serve as extra teachers. University lecturers and various other specialists very often give lectures at the institutes.

In Finland, the State has given fairly substantial support to the workers' institutes. An act according them grants-in-aid was promulgated in 1927. It lays down that the State shall bear 50 per cent of their expenditure. Students pay only a token enrolment fee. The State lays down certain conditions regarding the qualifications of the director and the standard of instruction but, apart from that, leaves the institutes to carry out their work fairly freely. In particular, they are absolutely free with regard to the choice of subjects to be taught.

Nevertheless, the Act governing State grants-in-aid specifies that workers' institutes shall provide primarily economic and social courses. Theoretically they have always laid emphasis on the importance of civic education as the focus of their work, but they have also stressed the need for giving students a broad general education and for developing the various aspects of the personality.

The social and economic activities of the institutes have nevertheless come up against considerable difficulties. The study circles discussing such problems have not always had enough members. On the other hand, practical activities which are of artistic interest and may be regarded as a pastime, and branches of study which may be of use in a career have always been very popular. Organizers themselves may have slightly divergent views on the items to be given special emphasis. Moreover there is a conflict of theory between those in favour of a general 'liberal' and civic education and those who think a vocational bias preferable. The first of these schools has, in theory, triumphed but, in practice, the 'vocational' school has gained much ground. It must be said, however, that, in comparison with adult education as it is found in America, for instance, the Finnish workers' institutes are definitely general education institutions.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AS A CULTURAL FACTOR IN THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

In the Scandinavian countries, the labour movement has always had strong educational interests. It has supported various efforts for the education of the people, such as folk high schools, workers' institutes, and a number of other projects taking the form of courses of lectures. At the same time, it has always been aware of its educational responsibilities towards its own members. The workers' political parties, in particular, have regarded education—not merely political but general, many-sided education—as coming within their proper sphere.

Throughout their existence, party organizations and trade unions have worked on these lines, by means of lectures and courses. Nevertheless, as the labour movement has expanded and the intellectual standard of the bulk of the population has risen, workers' education has constantly taken new forms.

One of the most striking stages in this development was the foundation of the Workers' Educational Associations, which were responsible for educational work within the labour movement. The first of these associations was established in Sweden in 1912, and the second in Finland in 1919. The Danish one came into being in 1924, and the Norwegian in 1927. These organizations bring together all branches of the labour movement, as they are run by the workers' political parties, jointly with trade union and co-operative organizations.

It was partly owing to direct action by these associations, and partly to the general intellectual advance in the labour movement, that a relatively extensive network of permanent institutes actually belonging to the movement has been set up in the Scandinavian countries. These institutes resemble the residential folk high schools and often qualify for the State grants-in-aid payable to the latter under the terms of the law.

The main purpose of establishing these institutes was to provide an opportunity for students to continue their education after taking courses already organized by the labour movement. They also serve to provide that movement with the staff it needs, while giving every worker the chance to learn seriously. In some cases, gifted and particularly intelligent young workers find them the gateway to more advanced education. The labour movement's own institutes are not all exactly the same in the different Scandinavian countries, but, to give a clearer general idea of the situation, they may be classified as follows:

Institutes closely connected with the labour movement, or folk high schools managed by labour organizations (generally local organizations) but not their exclusive property. Examples of such institutes in Sweden are the folk high schools at Brunnsvik and Framnäs.

Institutes shared by various workers' organizations, managed entirely by these organizations, to which they belong. Their programmes are similar to those of the folk high schools. Examples of this class are the Workers' Academy, the Väinö Voionmaa Institute and the Northern Institute, in Finland, the folk high schools at Esbjerg and Roskilde, in Denmark, and the one at Ringsaker in Norway.

Trade union institutes, owned by the central headquarters of the unions and specifically designed to meet the needs of the trade union movement; they may be financed entirely by the unions or receive partial grants-in-aid from the State. Examples are the institutes at Brunnsvik and Runö, belonging to the Swedish trade unions, and the Trade Union Institute of Finland. At the present time, the Sörmarka Institute in Norway is also a trade union establishment, although it used to be a folk high school. Lastly, there are the *specialized institutes*, including, in Finland, the labour sports institute, and the Sirola Institute, which is financed by communist organizations. These two institutes stand apart and have no exact counterparts in the other Scandinavian countries.

To give a proper appreciation of these institutes they would have to be described one by one. A general survey of the labour movement's institutes in Finland may, however, give a relatively full picture of this group of institutions as a whole.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT'S INSTITUTES IN FINLAND

The labour movement's educational establishments in Finland developed gradually as the movement itself grew in importance. Progress was also assisted by legislation favouring the interests of the folk high schools as the State makes itself responsible for 70 per cent of the annual expenditure of the ordinary high schools and 85 per cent of that of the advanced folk high schools. In addition, all these establishments receive special



grants for the payment of interest and the paying off of debts contracted when building their premises, and for the upkeep of those premises. Institutes in remote regions, and those which have to be maintained by communities with particularly scanty resources, also receive supplementary grants covering up to 15 per cent of their annual expenditure. In general, the organizations owning institutes have only to collect the necessary funds for the building of premises and to meet certain annual expenses. The State awards scholarships to poor students, covering 40 per cent of their tuition fees. About 80 per cent of the students at the labour movement's institutes are classed as necessitous and thus qualify for these scholarships. Over the past 30 years, the labour movement in Finland has established six institutes in all—a considerable factor in educational development. The buildings also represent a quite considerable investment. Data concerning the six labour folk high schools in Finland in 1956-57; are given in the following table.

Name	Date of establishment	Location	Type	Number of full-time teachers	Number of students
Workers' Academy	1924	Kauniainen (near Helsinki)	Advanced folk high school	5	80
Trade Union Institute	1950	Kiljava (Nurmijärvi)	Advanced folk high school	3	50
Väinö Voionmaa Institute	1951	Ylöjärvi (near Tampere)	Folk high school	3	32
Northern Institute	1956	Haukipudas (near Oulu)	Folk high school	3	43
Sirola Institute	1946	Harviala (near Hameenlinna)	Advanced folk high school	7	62
Pajulahti Institute	1949	Nastola (near Lanti)	Sports institute	3	19
			Totals	24	286

The oldest of the institutes founded by the Finnish labour movement is the Workers' Academy, which is owned jointly by several workers' organizations; the co-operative organizations, however, have a considerable influence in its management. Its organization and programme of work are based largely on those of the Swedish folk high school at Brunnsvik and Ruskin College, Oxford.

Under the terms of the folk high schools act, the academy receives a State grant. It may be classified as an advanced folk high school. Candidates for admission must be at least 18 years of age and must have already taken a course at a folk high school or an institution of similar standing, have attended a workers' institute, been a member of a study group or taken other courses run by various organizations; in brief, they must have reached a standard equivalent to that of students who have taken a year's course at a folk high school.

The Workers' Academy has always sought to maintain a high intellectual standard in its teaching. As it is in the vicinity of Helsinki, it has every facility for doing so, since, besides its own full-time teachers, it can invite lecturers and enlist the aid of additional teachers chosen from among leading specialists, including those at the University of Helsinki. The syllabus is divided into three sections: economics and sociology, the humanities, and science. Exercises are included and, among these, special emphasis is laid on compositions on set subjects. At the end of their courses, students take examinations in the subjects they have chosen. These examinations, the essays, and the exercises organized in 'workshops', are designed to make students concentrate and study seriously.

Besides the courses in the normal programme of the advanced folk high schools, the Workers' Academy organizes refresher courses for students who have completed the normal programme or have reached the same standard of education elsewhere. The syllabus for these advanced courses varies from year to year and is focused in turn on economic, sociological, social and municipal questions.

The experience gained with the Workers' Academy proved extremely useful when other Finnish institutes were established. The Väinö Voionmaa Institute is the one with the closest ties with the academy. It belongs to the Väinö Voionmaa Foundation, named after the Professor who was the great originator of the workers' education movement in Finland, the founder of the Workers' Educational Association and, for many years, the director of the Workers' Academy, and who set up this foundation for the establishment of institutes for young workers. The institute which bears his name caters for young people who wish to continue their studies after completing their school education proper. It is thus an educational establishment on the same level as the ordinary folk high schools. Its programme, which has a sociological bias, also accords a large place to general background knowledge; a fair number of subjects helpful to those playing an active part in the life of workers' organizations are included.

The other institutes run by the Finnish labour movement have their own special features. The Trade Union Institute is an advanced folk high school owned entirely by the Finnish Confederation of Trade Unions; it receives a grant-in-aid from the State under the terms of the folk high schools act. Its programme, which is mainly concerned with economics and sociology, is specially designed for prospective trade union leaders. The educational standard of students must be equivalent to that of the folk high school courses, and the courses are organized in accordance with the same principles as govern those at the Workers' Academy. The programme, however, lays less emphasis on general education and is less varied than that of the academy.

Students taking the winter courses at the Trade Union Institute are drawn mainly from among union members, most of them being appointed to responsible positions, and sometimes to permanent posts, in the trade union movement on the conclusion of their studies. During the summer, the institute organizes short courses (from a week to a month) and discussion meetings.

The Finnish Trade Union Institute has no counterpart in the other Scandinavian countries. The Swedish and Norwegian trade union institutes are not folk high schools and do not receive State grants-in-aid for any of their courses under the terms of the folk high schools act. On the other hand, the Danish institutes at Esbjerg and Roskilde receive grants under that act for their winter courses, but their programmes are not so closely in line with the immediate needs of the trade union movement as that of the

Finnish Institute. In the summer, all these institutes organize short courses dealing with trade unionism.

The Northern Institute, at Haukipudas, near Oulu, is also connected with the trade union movement. In theory it belongs to the Väinö Voionmaa Foundation but, in practice, it is financed and run by the Finnish Confederation of Trade Unions. It caters specially for young workers in Northern Finland and is, strictly speaking, a folk high school. The only academic qualification required of candidates for admission is therefore that they shall have completed the primary school course. The syllabus, which does not neglect general education, places considerable emphasis on sociological questions.

The Sirola Institute must also be included among the institutes run by the labour movement. It belongs to communist organizations and is of the same type as the advanced folk high schools being modelled on the Workers' Academy and the Trade Union Institute, but its syllabus and methods differ. It devotes a large amount of time to Marxist theory and the study of the situation in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but students also acquire a good deal of general knowledge. This institute receives a grant-in-aid from the State. The intellectual standard is relatively high. The fact that this institute receives a grant-in-aid has been the subject of much criticism from various quarters but, as it meets the requirements laid down by the law, the authorities could not disqualify it.

The Pajulahti Sports Institute is closely associated with the extremely active labour sports movement. Founded by the Labour Federation, it has since been maintained by a special fund. The winter courses at this institute train gymnastics and sports instructors for labour sports clubs. In summer, the institute organizes recreational courses as well as others, lasting a few weeks, for athletes and gymnasts. Although it is a residential establishment, the institute receives a State grant covering 50 per cent of its annual expenditure under the terms of the workers' institutes act. It also receives help for the payment of interest and the amortization of debts contracted for the building of its premises, and for the upkeep of those premises.

Several of these institutes work closely together. A large number of the young students at the Väinö Voionmaa Institute go on to take the first-year courses at the Workers' Academy, while the second-year students now include an increasing number of people who have been through the Trade Union Institute. When the Northern Institute really gets going, it is expected that its students will continue their studies either at the Trade Union Institute or at the Workers' Academy. Admittedly, the programmes of all the institutes have a sociological bias, but they nevertheless offer sufficient variety and sufficient options to ensure that students can always find something in them to extend and broaden their knowledge.

The courses at the Workers' Academy are the main channel by which young workers can qualify for admission to the College of Sociology which, in principle, accepts only those holding a senior secondary school leaving certificate but which, in practice, also admits students from the advanced folk high schools who pass a special entrance examination. Several of the former students of the Workers' Academy have thus secured the diploma of the College of Sociology, often by several years of unremitting study.

THE ROLE OF 'ARBEIT UND LEBEN' IN GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATION

HANS BOULBOULLÉ

Arbeit und Leben (Work and Life) is one of the most recent adult education institutions established in Germany, as are also the *Heimvolkshochschulen* (residential adult education centres) and the *Abendvolkshochschulen* (evening schools for adult education). It was founded after the last war in order to extend the benefits of adult education to those sections of the working population which, as the experiments carried out prior to 1933 had shown, were poorly represented among those attending the courses at *Volkshochschulen* (people's universities), because the latter were too often unrelated to the workers' interests, or unsuited to their educational level, or took no account of their mode of life and field of experience.

With the establishment of *Arbeit und Leben*, adult education in Germany took the same line as adult education in Scandinavia and the United Kingdom, where it is not limited to a single category of institutions but takes various forms according to the social situation. The experience, advice and encouragement of English friends, particularly Ernest Green, the President of the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations, helped considerably to advance the establishment of a workers' education institution in Germany.

Arbeit und Leben is an association in which the German trade unions and the people's universities (*Volkshochschulen*) co-operate. So far as its structure is concerned, the executive committees of the associations in the *Länder*, and those of the local branches, consist of an equal number of delegates of the Federation of German Trade Unions and of the people's universities. While most of the *Land* associations have already been in existence for several years—some since 1948—the federal organ of *Arbeit und Leben* for the Federal Republic of Germany was incorporated only at the beginning of 1956, after lengthy negotiations between the two parties. Its headquarters are at Frankfurt on Main, Untermainkai 66. Its executive committee consists of a representative of each of the *Land* associations, a representative of the federal executive committee of the Federation of German Trade Unions and a representative of the Governing Board of the German Union of People's Universities. In 1956, the year of its foundation, the federal organ of *Arbeit und Leben* became a member of the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations.

I have mentioned above why it was necessary to establish a workers' educational organization alongside the people's universities. The Federation of German Trade Unions, the other partner in *Arbeit und Leben*, and the individual trade unions, naturally have their own educational systems for their members. They organize local and other courses at their residential schools; but these courses are open to their members only and are designed exclusively to train those taking them for trade union activities. *Arbeit und Leben* supplements the work of these institutions, catering for all workers, whether organized or not, and dealing in its courses with all those general political, historical, economic or social questions which are not discussed and cannot be discussed in the courses organized by the trade unions.

AIMS AND METHODS

Arbeit und Leben is, first and foremost, an institution for political education. Democracy is the only form of government which enables the workers to play an effective part in public life and to defend their interests successfully. As the working classes and wage-earners with similar interests constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, their behaviour and activities are decisive in determining whether democracy is safe

and can continue to develop as a vital institution. This is true not only for the political but also for the economic sector, where, on the initiative of trade unions, workers' representative organs and industrial councils have been established; it is also true in all branches of self-government. These institutions can operate efficiently and be extended in the future only if officials and delegates have specialized knowledge and if all wage-earners are given general basic instruction on political, economic and social questions.

The work for which *Arbeit und Leben* has made itself responsible is particularly urgent owing to the following three factors. First, the German educational system makes no provision for the more advanced education of about 75 per cent of the population, who begin work at the age of 14; the schools do not prepare this section of the population for the political duties of public life. Secondly, in contrast to the situation in other Western countries, the democratic system in Germany has not developed steadily and without disturbance. The catastrophic period of the Third Reich interrupted this development and left behind it deep traces of disillusionment and faulty education. On the other hand, democratic principles are firmly rooted among the German workers, as was clearly shown at the time of the revival of the trade unions after 1945. *Arbeit und Leben* thus has to strengthen these existing forces and at the same time to help in the intellectual struggle against the anti-democratic aftermath of the Nazi system. Lastly, automation creates problems of conflicting interests on the solution of which the fate of the workers, as indeed that of democracy itself, depends. The workers must be prepared to cope with these problems.

The courses organized by *Arbeit und Leben* should impart knowledge, encourage independent critical thought, and give those following them experience of democratic principles in action. This is possible only if the courses last long enough to permit the various problems to be expounded in detail; if the 'workshop' principle, with the main emphasis on discussion is observed, so that everyone following the courses comes to grips with the problem concerned, thinks for himself and forms his own opinion; and if the discussions are conducted in a spirit of tolerance. For this reason, *Arbeit und Leben* organizes relatively few single lectures. Courses extending over at least ten evenings or held during the week-ends, from noon on Saturday to Sunday afternoon are preferred. In addition to these local courses, there are residential courses which last from ten days to four and a half months (in the residential adult education centres). Most of the organization's branches in the *Länder* concentrate on local courses, but others on central residential courses. All the courses deal with the problems mentioned above, emphasis being placed, according to the requirements of those taking them, on problems relating to economics, contemporary history, politics, the social situation or labour law. The longer courses naturally deal with various questions in detail.

The book discussion group has been a great success. Members of the group study together one or more books on a given subject. Courses of this kind are very useful for those who have acquired a certain amount of knowledge and confidence in independent intellectual work in other courses; these groups offer them an excellent opportunity of continuing their study of questions which interest them. Another advantage of the book discussion group is particularly apparent in small or remote places which for financial reasons cannot regularly invite competent lecturers to visit them for the discussion of important questions. The group concentrates its attention on the topic of the book under discussion and calls on the help of experts only in the case of difficult questions. The books, of course, must not only deal with the particular subject of interest to members of the study circle, but must be in keeping with the group's standard of previously acquired knowledge. In any case, these discussion groups inculcate in their members the habit of careful reading and so encourage them to take an interest in literature. *Arbeit und Leben* has published a booklet entitled *Der Buchstudienkreis* (The Book Discussion Group), containing detailed suggestions and advice for group leaders.

The so-called 'basic course' is of particular importance. As its name implies, its

purpose is to prepare the ground for political and economic study. Its programme is not, however, limited to these fields, but provides also for practice in the use of the German language (particularly in written form), the critical reading of newspapers, independent speaking and debating. Confidence in these matters is essential for those wishing to play apart in public life. Only when they have acquired this confidence, can participants make use of the knowledge they have gained. Questions relating to everyday life are also frequently discussed. This basic course comprises 180 teaching hours and lasts nine months, two meetings being held each week. In many localities the course lasts even longer. It is naturally a great sacrifice for those attending it, who have to work all day, to give up such a large part of their time, so it is not surprising that basic courses are not organized everywhere. A large number are held, however, and attract in particular an increasing number of young workers.

The organization's branches in the various *Länder* disagree on the question whether *Arbeit und Leben* should or should not organize vocational training courses. Some *Land* associations organize such courses on the grounds that none of the wishes or needs of the workers should be neglected, particularly when they have no other possibility of further vocational training, and that efforts should be made in this way to bring political education to workers who are not interested in politics. Those holding the contrary opinion maintain that advanced vocational training is a task for other organizations (such as the vocational training schools), or that the State should establish the necessary institutions if they do not already exist. Adult education organizations cannot and should not assume this task, or they will run the risk of losing sight of their real and proper work. This question will certainly continue to give rise to much controversy; but it is not a question of fundamental difference. All the *Land* associations place the main emphasis on political education.

The local courses are supplemented by longer courses (from one to four and a half months) organized at the residential adult education centres. These centres also provide basic courses which are open to anyone interested, and *Aufbaukurse* (continuation courses) which are open only to those who have already taken a basic course either in their home town or at a residential adult education centre. Two residential centres in Lower Saxony (at Hanover and Salzgitter) are rather unusual. Young workers spend about a year at them, going to work in the day-time, and in the evenings organizing study groups on various economic, political or other problems.

SOME RESULTS

Unfortunately, there are still no statistics available on the activities of *Arbeit und Leben* in the Federal Republic as a whole. As has already been stated, the federal association has been in existence for only a relatively short time and has not yet been able to collect statistical data. The scope of activities in the various *Länder* varies—not because the different associations do not agree on the work to be done, but because the *Arbeit und Leben* organizations were not established everywhere at the same time and did not find equally good financial support in all localities. If the *Länder*, towns, districts and communities do not give adequate financial support, adult education institutions naturally find it difficult to operate efficiently. The Federation of German Trade Unions cannot, in addition to its own educational activities, undertake to bear the major part of the costs of such a large-scale institution as *Arbeit und Leben*, and the fees paid by those attending the various courses cover only part of the expenditure on the rental of premises and teachers' salaries.

It can be stated, however, that wherever *Arbeit und Leben* has local organizations it always succeeds in interesting people who could not be reached by the *Volkshochschule*. At least 90 per cent of those following the courses are wage-earners, the majority of them being manual workers. It is probable that more than half of those attending the courses are members of trade unions. Young people between 18 and 25 are those most interes-

ted, and predominate particularly in the longer residential courses and the local basic courses. The total number of those following the courses, even though it runs into some hundreds of thousands, is of course, still small in relation to the total number of wage-earners. This however, is a problem that can be more or less solved—if it can be solved at all—only by perseverance and by increasing the workers' free time.

The courses are publicized through the distribution of quarterly or half-yearly prospectuses, brought out by the local branches of *Arbeit und Leben* and giving particulars of various courses, through newspaper advertisements, leaflets, and circular letters sent out by the trade unions, and through the shop stewards and workers' representatives in factories, etc. Posters are little used. In this connexion, mention must be made of the successful experiments carried out, particularly in Berlin and Bremen, for the organization of 'factory courses'. These courses are held, out of working hours, for workers from several neighbouring businesses, or for those from a single large enterprise, in conveniently situated premises or in the factory itself.

Apart from the organizers, a few educational workers in the central offices of the federal headquarters of *Arbeit und Leben* and of the *Land* associations, and the teachers at the residential centres, there are hardly any full-time officials. Most of the staff work in an honorary capacity and receive relatively small fees. They are mainly trade union officials, teachers (particularly from elementary schools and industrial schools), and members of the liberal professions. The *Land* associations regularly organize refresher courses for them, at which specialized questions and teaching problems are discussed. Every year (now on the initiative of the federal headquarters of *Arbeit und Leben*) a seminar on workers' education is held at the Hustedt residential adult education centre. During six weeks of intensive theoretical and practical studies, young and prospective adult education workers familiarize themselves with problems concerning the content and methods of workers' education.

The *Arbeit und Leben* association in Lower Saxony publishes a now bi-monthly periodical, *Arbeit und Leben—Beiträge zur Arbeiterbildung* (Contributions to Workers' Education), containing hints and suggestions on content and methods for educators, and thus assists their work. Subjects dealt with recently have included: films as a means of education and propaganda; problems relating to shorter working hours; non-parliamentary forces (unions and democracy) in a democratic State; problems of automation. The *Arbeit und Leben* associations in the other *Länder* also make use of this periodical.

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN FRANCE AND THE ROLE OF THE STRASBOURG INSTITUT DE TRAVAIL

M. DAVID

Workers' education has a long history in France. Its origins are intertwined with those of the labour movement. French workers have had difficulty in overcoming their defensive reaction against any kind of education other than that which is self-taught, but they have long been aware of the 'institutional' nature of the problem. Encouraged by their trade unions, they have tried to find specific solutions for it, that will harmonize with their aspirations and their individual and collective needs. We do not propose to retrace here the fascinating history of this type of education since 1830, with all the ideas and events that have attended it. Nor is it our intention to give an exhaustive account of what has been achieved since the end of World War II. We merely wish to describe,



The director of the CGT-FO Workers' Education Centre taking a class with officials from the miners' trade union. (Photo: Claudette Robin.)

in broad outline, what is being done at present, and in that connexion to show how a body like the *Institut du Travail*, established in December 1955 at the Strasbourg Faculty of Law and Political Science, came into being.

At the outset, it might be well to define what we understand by 'workers' education'. It is 'the sum of the educational effort, apart from vocational training, undertaken to increase the individual capacity and social effectiveness of the workers, of whatever level, incorporated in one of the bodies of the labour movement'.¹ We shall therefore leave aside all facts and considerations concerning popular education, vocational training or 'labour promotion'. Instruction in trade union affairs and the training of union leaders will, on the other hand, be dealt with.

Responsibility for workers' education, as thus defined, appears to have been assumed mainly by the trade unions themselves. These, as a rule, do not care to have their leaders, or even their ordinary members, trained by organizations concerned with popular education. With some exceptions, they also show clear distrust of private workers' educational associations, which are liable to claim organic autonomy. They fear that, under the influence of such associations, their members might lose their combative enthusiasm and some of their trade union convictions.

EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE TRADE UNIONS

A result is that the educational systems set up by the three major trade union federations strongly resemble one another. At the national level, there are confederate bodies, variously named, whose role it is to define and promote a general policy. Each of these bodies controls a national school. That of the CFTC² is located at Bierville, that of the CGT³ at Courcelles and that of the CGT-FO⁴ in Paris. These schools organize courses, lasting from a week to a month, for union leaders from all over France. The latter are recruited according to their branch of professional activity or their union responsibilities (in their capacities as workers' delegates, members of *comités d'entreprise*,⁵ secretaries of local unions, permanent leaders). Courses organized by various professional federations are also sometimes held in these 'confederate' schools.

1. Cf. *La Formation Ouvrière*, Actes du Colloque international de Strasbourg, Dalloz, 1956, p. 18. See also: *Pour un Bilan de la Formation Ouvrière*, Enquêtes sur les principaux types d'expériences nationales, sous la direction de M. David, Dalloz, 1957, p. 3.

2. Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens.

3. Confédération Générale du Travail.

4. Confédération Générale du Travail-Force Ouvrière.

5. Workers' committees, empowered by law to co-operate with employers in industrial management.

In regions or departments, each federation of unions includes a training commission as the mainspring for an *école de militants* (CGT), *collège du travail* (CGT-FO), or *école normale ouvrière* (CFTC). These schools do not operate on a permanent basis, and rarely have their own headquarters. Their business is to organize, once or twice a year, training sessions lasting from two days to a fortnight, in addition to week-ends or single days of study devoted to specific subjects. At this same level, horizontal federations of trade unions, and individual unions themselves, can organize their own training courses.

In local districts or parts of towns, or in specific groups of enterprises, evening courses or study circles are arranged under the sponsorship of the departmental or local federation or of various individual unions. They are designed for the broad mass of ordinary members. These local initiatives, at least in certain cases, involve efforts to establish organized centres, with their own libraries, teams of teachers and budgets. Lastly, the time allowance of 15 or 20 hours accorded to workers' delegates and members of *comités d'entreprise* for the discharge of their duties, and the facilities provided for under collective agreements, have made it possible to organize training 'circles' under the sponsorship of local unions in various enterprises. Union leaders must leave their work to attend them, but are paid as if they had remained at their job. This system, however, especially in so far as it is seen to be effective, meets with resistance from employers, who do not easily reconcile themselves to the presence of a union delegate from the outside, even if he is there for educational reasons.

Contact between the various levels in this activity is ensured by the confederate educational body. The latter exerts a certain authority; it issues directives or recommendations to the regional, departmental and local bodies regarding methods and the choice of study themes. Its documentation is available to those in charge of regional and local courses. It usually sends at least one representative to teach at these courses. Once a year it holds, at the central school, an educational seminar for local course leaders. It publishes a review and various pamphlets; and through the columns of the confederate newspaper, it keeps members informed about courses offered and problems needing solution. It maintains an information and loan service at the trade union library.

The co-director of the CGT-FO Workers' Education Centre replies to questions from a group of post and telegraph trade unionists.



Lastly, it tries to give more vitality to the local educational centres by means of a system of correspondence courses.

Despite these similarities of structure, the systems set up by the federations differ from one another on a number of points. The scope of the achievements at different levels varies. The recruitment standards for teachers and leaders are far from uniform. The educational bodies are not always financed in the same way. The spirit and content of the teaching reflect the doctrinal standpoints and the concepts of trade union action peculiar to each federation. It is not surprising, therefore, that there should be substantial contrasts in these respects.

Yet the achievements, though scattered, have in many ways been quite remarkable. Their scope is surprising if one considers that the trade unions have only modest financial resources for workers' education.

There are nevertheless certain failings and gaps, and they, unfortunately, are what is most common to all the various federations. There is not enough basic training of ordinary members. Insufficient co-ordination exists between the generous course instruction, lasting several days or weeks, and the training offered in a sporadic, makeshift way in local unions or at the place of employment. Workers experience much difficulty in obtaining the necessary time off enabling them to take the courses. Those who have overcome this obstacle and are engaging in the same educational activity differ too widely in their previous level of instruction for them all to profit equally from the teaching. Furthermore, the rhythm of modern life and its requirements, as well as working conditions in mechanized industry, are often too much of a strain on the individual and family equilibrium of workers for the latter to feel as interested in their own education as one could wish. Another problem of special importance is met with. The union schools do try to maintain a regular progression from basic trade union training to elementary and secondary education; but at a higher level, supplementary information and training are still lacking, and the central trade union organizations have not been able fully to provide them. This is what justifies the existence of a university body like the *Institut du Travail* at the Strasbourg Law Faculty.

THE STRASBOURG INSTITUTE

This institute held its first three-week study session, for about 30 students belonging to the CFTC, in March 1956. In April and May, there were two new sessions of the same type, one for representatives of the CGT and the other for the CGT-FO. In October and November 1956, three one-week sessions were held, each of them for 25 to 30 administrators of the *Caisse de Sécurité Sociale*.¹ These three sessions were exclusively devoted to the study of social security problems.

No better illustration can be given of the high educational standard which the institute intends its students to attain than a description of the methods it uses. The day is divided into four parts. First comes the course, which gives the essentials of the theme of the day. Work in study groups or committees follows; this develops the instruction already received, by means of group research based on previously prepared documents. The end of the afternoon is devoted to a plenary meeting at which, after the reports of the various committees have been presented, a general discussion is held, the teacher of the day adding a brief conclusion. During the early afternoon interval, two hours are given over to reading and personal research. Here are a few details concerning this last activity: at the beginning of the session, each student is asked to choose a subject for a study to which he will devote a few hours every day. The staff of the institute

1. In the French social security system, the various *Caisse* (*Allocations Familiales* or *Sécurité Sociale*) are managed by *conseils d'administration* (boards) which include workers elected from lists presented by the trade union federations. These administrators carry out their tasks in addition to their own professional activity.

help him in his work and his bibliographical research. Within the assigned time-limit he must draw up a brief report; at the end of the course, he reads it to the other students, and it is subjected to critical appraisal.

These flexible methods, and they can be still further diversified as experience is gained, make it possible to avoid the danger of over formalized instruction; this would not be well suited to these men, whose previous training has had little in common with that of students who have completed secondary school. However, these workers have had wide experience, and they have reflected upon the problems of industrial enterprises and those of trade union responsibilities. A training session where objectivity is the keynote enables them to consider, from a better angle, groups of facts which must be seen as a whole in order to be understood. The scientific information they are offered enables them to systematize their practical knowledge and develop their ability to present an idea or subject logically, clearly and without digression. Help from university professors who teach at these sessions in collaboration with non-university experts is particularly valuable in this regard.

At the same time, the institute's teaching avoids giving its students a mere 'veneer' of knowledge which might detach them from their working interests. The institute keeps in regular touch with the competent services at the headquarters of the trade union federations (each of which has two members on the institute's *conseil de perfectionnement* or advanced training council), and this enables the curricula to be chosen in accordance with immediate needs and in full agreement with the unions' training specialists. These study programmes may include various disciplines of the labour sciences: history of labour and the labour movement; social economics; human and economic geography as related to labour; social security; business organization and accounting; documentation and survey methods in the social field. These are the broad headings, to which each training period can of course give only partial study. Until now, the main themes considered at various courses have been: collective agreements; the duties of the *comités d'entreprise*; the application of the labour code in overseas territories; the various forms of worker participation in management; wages and prices. Since all unscientific discussion must be excluded, the institute organizes separate sessions for the members of each federation; this flexible system has won general approval. The important thing, after all, is to give the students a setting where they can feel at ease while doing their work and research and while receiving useful scientific training from the university.

Apart from the three special sessions held by the institute in 1956 entirely on the subject of social security—to which Unesco paid particular attention—an important place is given to this theme at each ordinary session. Again, the institute never loses sight of the economic and social problems of overseas territories. The students, in fact, are recruited not only from all the regions of metropolitan France, but also from among the representatives of overseas trade unions. These overseas students have their travel expenses paid in part by ILO; they give their comrades some idea of a 'situation in progression' very different from that in France. The support of Unesco and ILO is particularly valuable to the institute, and enables it to approach the subject of international labour problems constructively.

Lastly, in addition to the study programme described above, each session at the institute is made more valuable and attractive by a supplementary programme of talks, film showings, theatrical evenings, projections of slides, visits to the museums and the Cathedral of Strasbourg, and excursions in Alsace.

Such is the experiment undertaken. It is a modest contribution to that workers' education of which the trade union organizations themselves long ago laid the basis. It is designed not to replace the action of those organizations, but simply to supplement it in a useful way. Within this framework the object has been to set up flexible, confident relations between the world of labour and the world of research, through a training establishment suited to the social needs of our time.

SECONDARY SCHOOLING FOR ADULTS IN POLAND

JOSEF BARBAG

One of the characteristics of the generalization of education and culture among Polish adults during the post-war years is the great extension of schooling and, in particular, the creation of so-called secondary schools for workers. The setting up of these institutions was due to the initiative of those in need of education, mainly manual workers in industry, the public services and agriculture. The workers' schools have evolved despite the absence of traditions in that field and they have often superseded the more typical forms of adult education such as people's universities and university extension.

The value and attraction of the schools for adults are due, in the first place, to the fact that, whilst providing their pupils with knowledge, they also give them the formal and practical foundations of a higher education. This is of particular importance for the young people whom war and foreign occupation had prevented from attending secondary schools and forced to earn their living very early. The schools for adults have greatly contributed to the liquidation of the evil effects of the war on education. However, with the passing of time, this temporary 'functional' aspect of the task of those schools has receded; new factors and more durable incentives encourage industrial and other workers to acquire a general secondary education.

The rapid industrialization of the country has increased the demand for specialized technicians; the output of the schools for adolescents has not been sufficient fully to satisfy the demand. These circumstances, and the constructive policy of the State in the field of education—as shown by the support given to the workers' efforts and by special privileges designed to enable them to round off their education and, thereby, to swell the ranks of the professional intelligentsia—have together created an appreciable and lasting source of recruits for the schools for adults.

The statements made by the pupils of these schools—particularly the older pupils—concerning the reason which impelled them to make the strenuous extra effort of completing their education, indicate that it is often more than the prospect of obtaining, through higher studies, a more lucrative position. Some of the pupils had realized that the education provided by primary schools is not sufficient for qualified workers and agriculturists. The development of technology and its growing complexity have had as a corollary that the lack of a general education—at least at the secondary school level—is increasingly the obstacle that bars the way towards new professional qualifications.

On the other hand, this lack of a general education means that a change of profession, in some cases a vital necessity, is a difficult achievement. For other pupils—though not very numerous—acquiring general knowledge is a pleasant fashion of relieving the monotony of their lives, a sort of compensation for the often overspecialized and mechanized tasks with which they are not fully content. The dominating group, however, is composed of those whose ambition is to use the school for adults as a stepping-stone towards higher studies.

There are in Poland two categories of schools for adults: those that offer evening classes four times a week, and others that teach by correspondence. The first group provides 20 hours of weekly tuition, that is 30 per cent less than the corresponding schools for adolescents. Both groups of schools are fully subsidized by the State and the studies are absolutely free. Legislation guarantees to their pupils an extra seven days' holiday, with pay, at examination time. In addition their work day is reduced by one hour whenever the work they do for a living clashes with their studies.

A large number of co-operatives and State institutions encourage their employees to continue their studies by giving them bonuses in the shape of books, bicycles, wireless sets and various holiday grants.

The plan of studies of the schools for adults comprises 20 hours of tuition in each class, including 3 hours for so-called 'consultations'. The purpose of the latter is to find the best common level for each class and to provide individual help for the less advanced pupils or those whom their professional duties, or other valid reasons, have prevented for a while from attending school.

The consultations are also opportunities for advising and guiding the more gifted pupils or those showing special interests and abilities. The pupils' participation in the consultations is not compulsory; only those take part who wish to do so. Experience has shown that the value and attraction of the consultations depend to a large extent on the competence of the organizing teacher and also on his ability to create the requisite friendly atmosphere. This, of course, would not be brought about if the consultations were used as a mere means of checking the pupils' progress.

The curriculum of the schools for adults is based, in principle, on that of the secondary schools for adolescents. However, in view of the smaller number of tuition hours and the reduced possibility of studying at home, its scope is more modest. For instance, only one foreign language is compulsory in those schools and another optional, while in the schools for adolescents two foreign languages are compulsory. For the same reasons, the programme of the schools for adults does not include physical culture or art even though this deliberate omission should involve unfavourable results. In the other disciplines such as mother tongue, history, geography, mathematics, physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, the differences between the curricula of the schools for adults and their counterparts for adolescents are only quantitative, consisting in the elimination of those parts of the subjects which do not correspond to the pupils' age or are less practical and important. In principle, this procedure has no unfavourable effect on the preparation for higher studies. The results obtained at universities and polytechnics by former pupils of the schools for adults may, in general, be favourably compared with those of secondary school graduates. A role is also played by the greater experience of life and the better appreciation of moral values, of the older students and by their greater perseverance and better training in overcoming difficulties.

At the end of the year, examinations are held in the eighth, ninth and tenth forms, the subjects being mother tongue and mathematics, while in the eleventh, or last form, a maturity (matriculation) examination takes place with a programme equivalent to that of the secondary schools. Success in this examination entitles the graduates to enter higher educational institutions of all types. Those who teach in the schools for adults make certain reservations with regard to the end-of-year examinations in the eighth to tenth forms, which involve a shortening of normal work by a week or two and often bring about a postponement, or neglect, of subjects not included in the examination. In spite of those unfavourable aspects, the examinations are the means of raising the level in subjects which are fundamental for a general education and facilitating an objective appraisal of the student's progress.

The results achieved by the schools for adults are naturally influenced by the teaching methods adopted in them. The details of these methods are conditioned by the programme of studies, i.e., the smaller number of work hours, the homework possibilities, as well as by the age and maturity of the students. All this makes it necessary to use the most economical and efficient pedagogical means; it also makes it possible to take advantage of the student's general and professional experience. The teaching methods can, and should, vary according to the subject, theme, professional and social structure of the student group and character of the teacher. But the fundamental postulate in relation to all methods applied in schools for adults is the requirement of the student's maximum activity. The ability to mobilize and canalize this activity, to arouse interest and encourage the habit of independent work, will, as a rule, be the deciding factor as regards the results achieved by the school and the fruitfulness of its students' work.

The point is, therefore, to avoid giving ready-made information and to develop a desire and ability to seek it for oneself. It is also important to link the lectures with the

experiences and positions in life of the students and to show due respect for their individual convictions and views. Dogmatic teaching methods, the fear of exchanging divergent views, of discussing controversial subjects, all invariably hamper and discourage a student. Adults resent being treated like schoolboys and it is borne in mind that a pedagogical approach which is successful with adolescents often fails completely when used towards adults.

EDUCATION BY CORRESPONDENCE

Beside the 'stationary' schools, which have in Poland over 35,000 pupils, there is a well-developed network of general education correspondence schools, serving those whom their work prevents from attending school systematically.

The pupils of the correspondence schools are mostly persons aged from 18 to 30, employed in various branches of the national economy, industry, commerce and agriculture. The majority of them are town dwellers. The students are provided with special textbooks and commentaries adapted to the needs of 'autodidactism'. They maintain constant contact with the school by means of written tasks and exercises which are appraised and corrected by the teachers. Advice is given individually by post.

The main purpose of these written home tasks is not merely to check the pupil's knowledge, but, most of all, to train and instruct him. The helpfulness and friendliness of these communications sent to the students often has a decisive effect on their subsequent scholastic career. Experience has shown, however, that postal contacts do not provide the students with adequate help; only a few of the most capable and independent ones have succeeded in overcoming the difficulties of an education by correspondence. Accordingly, in an effort to increase the help needed by the students, the schools organize periodically one or two-day 'clarification' conferences at which the teachers of particular subjects explain the best ways of studying independently and help the students to solve their more difficult problems.

These conferences also provide the occasion to carry out practical activities such as the necessary laboratory work in chemistry, physics and biology. In that way they counteract the verbalism which is a serious danger of tuition by correspondence.

In addition to the clarification conferences which are held six or eight times a year on non-working days, each school has established, in the areas from which its pupils are drawn, several consultation bureaux. These consultation centres are serviced by local teachers who give, once or twice a week, individual or collective help to the students who ask for it.¹

The schools also encourage their pupils to organize self-instruction groups. This gives good results and counteracts the 'middle of the year' falling-off. The student-correspondent is not, therefore, left to his own devices. He not only receives textbooks, commentaries and advice by mail, but he is often a member of a group in which he learns to express his thoughts, to exchange and discuss his views. The pupil of a correspondence school usually makes use of the consultation bureaux and attends clarification conferences. All these activities are an important part of the system, particularly during the first years of study when the pupils are not yet used to overcoming the difficulties of intellectual work and in conquering their doubts without outside help.

The establishment by the school of a whole system of assistance—of which the student can, but need not, make use—helps to increase the benefits and improve the results of education by correspondence which, in Poland, are not yet quite satisfactory. In fact, only every other student reaches his target and fulfils his aspirations.

The comparatively small output of the correspondence schools is due to the difficulties the system thrusts upon the student trying to acquire knowledge and the teacher who supplies it. Only a teacher who knows both his subject and the principles of edu-

1. A consultation centre is set up where there are at least 10 students.

tion perfectly can cope with the high methodological and practical requirements of correspondence schools.

Schools for adults, oral and correspondence, are at best temporary and substitute forms of adult education. They will become redundant when the education system provides all citizens with a general education, at least on the secondary school level.

For a large majority of States this is, however, a fairly far-distant goal. Until it is reached, the schools for adults can—as they do in Poland—contribute to fill the gaps and offset the neglect that have barred the way towards a wider culture for certain social groups, accelerate their social and professional progress and become an important factor in the spread of national culture.

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

N. NAUMOV

In pre-revolutionary Russia, the greater part of the population received no primary education, still less any secondary and higher education. In 1897, only 24 per cent of the people could read and write. This situation remained virtually unchanged until 1917.

The Soviet regime, during its first years, deemed that the removal of this grim heritage of the past—the illiteracy or semi-illiteracy of the adult population—was one of its most urgent tasks.

In 1919 the Soviet Government issued a decree, signed by Lenin, concerning the eradication of illiteracy. All citizens aged between 8 and 50 were obliged to learn how to read and write in Russian or in their mother tongue.

With the publication of this decree, the literacy campaign developed considerably. The campaign was placed under the direction of an All-Russian Special Commission for the Eradication of Illiteracy, constituted for the purpose. Millions of primers and other books were published in all the languages of the country. Evening courses were organized in schools, workers' clubs, offices and other enterprises, as well as in all the villages. Not only teachers, but large sections of the general public, were asked to co-operate in the literacy campaign. Thousands of volunteers—students, employees, pupils of the higher grades, men and women workers able to read and write—devoted themselves to this task, free of charge. The illiterates were instructed in groups as well as individually.

Various public organizations took an active part in the literacy campaign, for instance, the volunteer association 'Down with Illiteracy!', which came into being in 1923 and, in the second year of its existence, had more than 1,600,000 members.

Every year, this instruction was given to an ever larger proportion of the existing illiterates. As early as 1926, 51.1 per cent of the total population had become literate, and by 1939 the figure had risen to 81.2 per cent. Between 1920 and 1940, i.e., within the space of 20 years, approximately 50 million illiterate adults were taught to read and write.

These efforts were not confined to the mere eradication of illiteracy among the adult population. The tasks imposed by the Revolution could not be accomplished without a considerable improvement in the people's general cultural level. Even during the first years of the Revolution, a network of schools and courses for adults was established, and it was then extended every year; it consisted of schools for semi-illiterates, higher schools

for adults, various courses of a vocational and technical nature, workers' universities and faculties, courses for those wishing to attend higher educational establishments, etc. A network of schools for children rapidly came into existence. In 1930, the Soviet Government introduced compulsory primary schooling for all children of school age.

The measures adopted by the Soviet Government for developing the various forms of adult education and for applying the system of compulsory schooling have contributed to the rapid training of numerous specialists in all branches of intellectual work in the Soviet Union.

The various types and forms of adult education in the U.S.S.R. have been modified and improved *pari passu* with the country's economic and cultural development.

At present, adult education in the U.S.S.R. consists of: (a) seven-year and ten-year secondary schools for young workers and peasants, and schools for adults; (b) secondary schools providing correspondence courses for adults; (c) various courses for adults (vocational and technical courses, foreign-language courses, etc.); (d) correspondence and evening courses organized by the departments and faculties of special secondary and higher educational institutes, as well as at independent educational establishments.

The aims of this system of adult education are to offer workers, employees and collective farmers extensive opportunities of receiving general secondary education, as well as special secondary and higher education, without having to interrupt their ordinary work, and to help them improve their professional qualifications and complete their knowledge in some field of particular interest to them.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR YOUNG WORKERS AND PEASANTS

Adult workers receive general secondary education at schools for young workers and peasants and at schools for adults. Schools of this latter type began to spring up even during the first years of the Revolution. Schools for young workers and peasants were established for the first time during the Great Patriotic War.

It was necessary to organize schools for young people because, during the Great Patriotic War, considerable numbers of adolescents and youths were obliged to leave school in order to work in mills, factories, offices, hospitals etc. These young people were anxious to continue their studies without interrupting their ordinary work, and the young workers' schools offered them this possibility.

Established during the war, the young workers' schools lost none of their importance afterwards. But they were no longer attended by exactly the same category of pupil; they began to attract, not only young people, but much older workers and employees who had not received seven-year and ten-year education when they were young and who were now anxious to have access to it without any interruption of their work.

In order to satisfy the workers' desire to improve their general education, the popular education services open numerous new schools for young workers every year. During the present school year, 1956-57, in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic alone, there are 3,451 young workers' schools and 3,754 schools and separate classes for young peasants, attended by some 987,000 pupils.

During the last ten years, the young workers' schools in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic have provided more than a million workers and employees with secondary education (seven-year and ten-year courses), without their being obliged to suspend their professional activities.

The young workers' schools are open to persons of both sexes, aged 16 or more, employed in mills, factories, mines, transport services or offices.

At these schools, instruction is based on the curricula of the general secondary school. At the end of the seventh year of their studies, pupils of young workers' schools sit for the final examinations, and at the end of the tenth year for the secondary-school certificate; they then enjoy the same rights as pupils who complete their studies at the ordinary seven-year and ten-year secondary schools.

Studies at the young workers' schools are organized, according to the pupils' working hours, for three different shifts of workers: in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening. As these schools are also attended by adult workers, the curriculum and work-plan are somewhat different from those at the ordinary seven-year and ten-year secondary schools for children.

At the young workers' schools, there are 20 classroom hours per week: 16 hours for lessons proper, and 4 hours for discussions between pupils and teachers.

Pupils of young workers' schools assimilate the secondary school programme more rapidly than pupils at the ordinary secondary schools, largely because the former consist of workers and employees who have already acquired some experience of life, possess greater will-power, are more persevering and have a thirst for knowledge. Many of them have been inventors of new and better working methods; they appreciate the time factor, and organize their work efficiently.

Teachers at young workers' schools endeavour so to arrange the school work plan as to be able to turn every minute at their disposal to the best account; they employ efficient working methods which facilitate the pupils' acquisition of the knowledge taught; they regularly organize discussions with their pupils, and give individual advice to those in need of it. The limited number of pupils in each class (20) also contributes to better classroom work.

Premises for young workers' schools must be provided by the enterprises concerned; if necessary, they must construct new buildings for these schools. During the last two years, in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic alone, various enterprises have built 39 schools; 50 others are in process of construction. Some of the young workers' schools are housed in children's schools of general education.

Pupils of young workers' schools enjoy various advantages and privileges. During the examinations, pupils completing the ten-year course receive 20 working days of supplementary leave with full pay, and those completing the seven-year course 15 days. Enterprises are forbidden to employ pupils of young workers' schools in tasks which would interrupt their studies. When directors of enterprises promote workers by transferring them to posts requiring higher qualifications, preference is given to those who successfully pursue their studies at the young workers' schools without interrupting their professional work.

Young people and adults living in rural areas—collective farm workers', State farm workers, tractor station workers, collective farm team leaders, group leaders, worker members of rural councils, etc.—can follow the seven-year and ten-year secondary courses at the young peasants' schools, without suspending their ordinary work; these schools, like those for the young workers', were established for the first time during the Great Patriotic War.

At the young peasants' schools, pupils take the curriculum for the fifth, sixth and seventh years of general secondary education over a period of three years, and the curriculum for the eighth, ninth and tenth years of this education over a period of four years, in accordance with a special study plan. Instruction at these schools is given for four hours, five times a week.

When the number of pupils is too small to justify the establishment of complete schools for young peasants, evening classes are organized at schools of general education. This makes it possible to ensure the education of even small groups of young peasants.

Owing to the nature of their work, certain workers, employees and collective farmers cannot regularly attend the schools for young workers and peasants. A network of schools provides correspondence courses in general secondary education for this category of worker; and, with a view to facilitating the studies of those concerned, each correspondence school has a network of advisory centres.

Further, numerous adults study by themselves, as external students, for the examinations held at the end of the seven-year and ten-year secondary courses.

EVENING AND CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Pupils following correspondence courses, as well as those who sit for the examinations as external students, enjoy from 15 to 20 working days' supplementary leave with full pay.

Thus, adults who, for some reason or other, failed to complete their secondary studies during school age are able to do so, without any suspension of their ordinary work, by attending schools for young workers and peasants, following correspondence courses, or studying by themselves as external students for the examinations. Moreover, workers, collective farmers and employees are offered extensive opportunities of receiving not only general secondary education, but also special secondary and higher education, without having to interrupt their work.

The U.S.S.R. has a wide network of establishments of higher and technical education providing correspondence and evening courses in various specialized subjects. The correspondence courses at these institutions are open to persons already employed in productive work or in offices, the nature of which corresponds to the special studies chosen by them.

In 1956, more than 3,400,000 workers, collective farmers and employees, i.e., 400,000 more than in 1955, attended secondary and higher educational establishments providing evening and correspondence courses, seven-year and ten-year secondary schools for young people, and schools for adults, without having to interrupt their professional activities. The correspondence and evening courses alone were taken by more than 700,000 persons.

Workers can enrol for the correspondence and evening courses provided by establishments of special secondary and higher education, and successfully complete them, whether they live in the central towns or in the most remote regions of the Soviet Union. Many institutes have their own branches and educational advisory centres directly attached to mills, factories and large building yards.

One of the largest higher technical schools providing correspondence courses is the All-Union Polytechnic Institute for Education by Correspondence. It provides training in more than forty special subjects for engineers. This institute has branches in towns in Central Asia, the Ukraine, Siberia, the Ural region, along the Volga, in the Don basin and in the extreme north.

There are important establishments of higher education which provide special correspondence courses in energetics, machine construction, agriculture, finance, law, pedagogy, etc. They, likewise, have branches and educational advisory centres in many towns in the U.S.S.R.

Favourable conditions are offered to students following correspondence and evening courses organized by establishments of higher education. Every year, the directors of the enterprises concerned grant them leave with full pay in order to enable them to sit for the examinations and carry out laboratory work. They are exempted from evening work and enjoy other advantages and privileges.

During the next five years, evening and correspondence courses at establishments of special secondary and higher education will be considerably developed so as to offer engineers and technicians, as well as workers and collective farmers, even greater possibilities of receiving such education without having to interrupt their ordinary work.

Towards about 1960, the number of students taking correspondence and evening courses provided by higher educational establishments should total one million.

Every year, thanks to the correspondence and evening courses organized by educational establishments, hundreds of thousands of workers, employees and collective farmers receive higher education without having to suspend their professional activities, and thus swell the ranks of the most highly skilled workers in the various technical, scientific and cultural fields.

Dora Karaseva, a worker at the foundry of the 'Dynamo' factory in Moscow, com-

pleted her studies at the Moscow Steel Institute without having to interrupt her ordinary work, and for some years now has been the factory's head metallurgist.

Recently, Nina Evdokimova was employed at the tool-shop of the same factory, with the simple task of distributing tools; now, after completing her studies at the institute of engineering and economics without suspending her regular work, she is the head of the tool-shop.

Many similar examples could be quoted.

OTHER AGENCIES OF ADULT EDUCATION

When we speak of adult education in the wide sense of the term, we have in mind not only the different types of schools and courses and the establishments of secondary and higher education which, by organizing correspondence and evening courses, enable adults to receive such education regularly, but also the entire system of cultural services for adults, aimed at meeting their various cultural needs.

Great efforts are made to propagate political, scientific and technical knowledge throughout the country; various public, cultural and educational organizations—as well as scientists, university staff, teachers at other institutes of higher and secondary education, scientific societies, etc.—take an active part in this work.

An important role in this field is played by the All-Union Association for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge. This Association was established in 1947 on the initiative of a group of eminent Soviet scientists, public men and representatives of intellectual circles.

The association has approximately 400,000 members, who give lectures and who include numerous distinguished scholars, scientists, technicians, men of letters and artists, teachers of secondary and higher educational establishments, doctors, agronomists, etc.

In accordance with its statutes, the Association carries out various activities on a large scale. It arranges public lectures, as well as lectures provided for in agreements with State, public and co-operative organizations and with institutions, mills, factories and collective farms; it organizes scientific exposées and lectures relating to various branches of knowledge, meetings on scientific production, scientific consultations, evening debates, lectures accompanied by the demonstration of scientific experiments, lectures illustrated by literary and musical excerpts, etc., it publishes shorthand reports of the public lectures, as well as reviews and literature for the popularization of science; it organizes exhibitions, museums, and so forth.

In Moscow there is a central lecture department, and there are also numerous local lecture centres, which are constantly organizing not only isolated lectures but also whole series of lectures on various subjects.

In 1956, the association's members gave almost two million lectures in the various languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. These lectures covered various subjects—social politics, philosophy, economics, natural science, literature, art, technology, agriculture, etc.

The Moscow Polytechnic Museum, with its technological library, and the Leningrad Institute for Scientific and Technical Propaganda are under the association's direction.

The press, radio, cinema and television, as well as various cultural and educational clubs and institutions, play an outstanding part in raising the people's cultural level. They help millions of workers not only to improve, systematically, their political status, standard of general education and professional qualifications, but also to keep themselves constantly informed of the most important national and international events, as well as of the latest achievements in the fields of science, technology, culture and art.

Every year a greater number of newspapers, reviews and books is published, and their circulation is constantly increasing. In 1956 alone, 1,100 million copies of books were published.

Millions of copies of works are published in the languages of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.: these include books on socio-political and economic questions, the classical works of Marx and Lenin, fiction, books on science, technology, agriculture, art, and so forth.

Every year, numerous books by foreign authors are published on a vast scale. Since the establishment of the Soviet regime, works by more than 4,700 foreign authors have been published, with a total circulation of more than 360 million copies.

In 1956, the U.S.S.R. possessed about 400,000 libraries of all kinds, with a total of 1,500 million volumes. Millions of readers make use of the libraries and reading rooms. Technical libraries are attached to the mills, factories, mines and technical schools.

Each year sees an increase in the number of theatres, cinemas and broadcasting and television stations throughout the country.

In order to meet the workers' cultural needs and improve their political, educational, professional and artistic standards, various cultural and educational institutions—palaces of culture, clubs, museums, rural reading-rooms, etc.—are engaging in many forms of activity on a large scale.

In 1956, in the rural areas alone, more than 110,000 clubs and reading-rooms, 120,000 libraries and tens of thousands of permanently established as well as travelling cinemas were at work.

The trade unions have a large network of cultural and educational institutions: 10,500 clubs, houses and palaces of culture, about 18,000 libraries, and 112,000 'red nooks' (rest-rooms). In the palaces of culture and other club-houses, lectures are given on the most varied subjects, and debates, concerts, literary evenings, shows, recitals by amateur artists, exchanges of information on professional questions, exhibitions, etc., are organized.

The clubs endeavour in every way to develop the creative powers of workers in the towns and rural areas. This applies particularly to their artistic talents, as amateur art is one of the most striking ways in which the creative genius of the masses contributes to the development of artistic culture; it also reveals the varied talents of the people.

In the U.S.S.R. and in all the Republics of the Union, it has become a tradition to organize popular activities such as competitions for amateur artists, song festivals, exhibitions of works by local artists and works of applied art, etc.

In the cultural and educational institutions of our country, there are hundreds of thousands of amateur art clubs—dramatic, musical, choral, etc.—with millions of worker members.

Such are the chief ways in which the education of adults in the U.S.S.R. is ensured, and their varied and ever-growing cultural needs satisfied.

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES IN SWEDISH WORKERS' EDUCATION

TORVALD KARLBOM

Workers' education is highly organized in Sweden. Practically all trade unions, workers' political organizations, youth associations and consumers' co-operatives conduct educational activities in addition to their own ordinary work. They also combine in a central educational organization called *Parbaternas Bildningsförbund, ABF* (the Workers' Educational Association), the object of which is to provide free and voluntary education, non-political and non-denominational, for the purpose of training workers

Studies being followed in the mountains near the ore deposits in Lapland. The printed lesson may be conveniently studied in the open. (Photo: Nki-Skolan/Institut Suedois, Paris.)



for the community and the labour movement and of bringing cultural values within the reach of all. In practice its function is to supply study material, conduct propaganda for study, administer the State contribution to the work, supervise the work, and assist its member organizations in their educational activities.

One of the essential forms of this branch of education is the study circle or group. In 1956 the number of such study groups operating in the whole country was about 45,000, of which 22,000, with a total membership of 220,000 students, belonged to the ABF. Of these, 15,000 worked in urban and 7,000 in rural areas. The number of female students was 106,000 or 48 per cent. Students under 18 years of age numbered 20 per cent, the remainder were adults of various ages. There are even some study groups consisting of old-age pensioners.

These figures indicate the popularity of this form of study and the wide field it covers, and also illumine the problems raised by the provision of suitable study material and study-group leaders. A glance at the choice of subjects completes the picture. Religious history, philosophy, psychology and languages are studied by 20 per cent, art, literature and history by 31 per cent, social science and law by 22 per cent, technology by 18 per cent, and economic geography and science by 9 per cent. Vocational training is exceptional.

There is obviously great difficulty in providing suitable study material and teachers. Trained teachers are available for some groups only. It is therefore necessary to provide study material which will meet the need for both simplicity and quality and will guide students in their work. In study groups with members used to this free method of study, the problem is not so difficult: they need only a study guide and a suitable bibliography. In most cases, however, there is need for ampler study material, the setting of exercises and of questions for the group to answer, revision of exercises, and help with these where necessary. This is where the correspondence course proves its value. Without it, study-group activity could hardly have attained its present scale.

Correspondence courses can be held in any country with a literate population and a regular postal service. Where illiteracy has been defeated or is declining, the method can replace or supplement instruction given by teachers.

The main feature of the method is that the school comes to the student or the group and not vice versa. In large and sparsely populated countries the organization of instruction often presents a problem. On the other hand, in a densely populated country

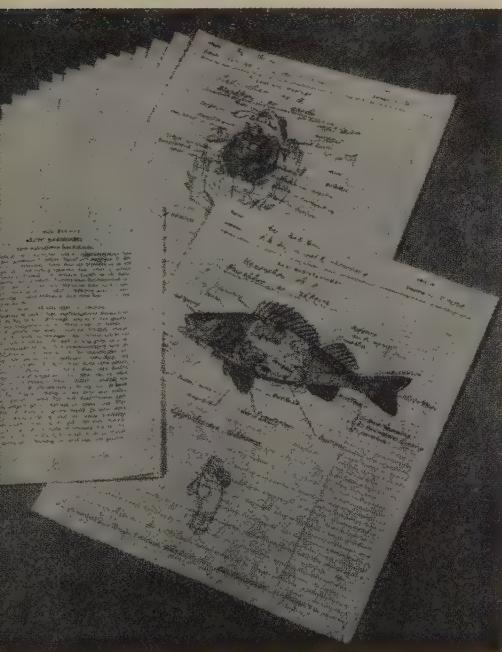
with a high standard of living, many persons may desire to improve their education, but teachers may not be available in sufficient numbers or there may be a shortage of school buildings. In all these circumstances the correspondence method may be most valuable.

FORMS OF CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION

In Sweden there are three large correspondence schools, each with over 100,000 students. Two of these are private, the third is owned by the trade unions, consumers' co-operatives and the ABF, and is called Brevskolan (the Letter School). Though it is the property of these organizations, it is completely independent in its activities.

The instructional material of Brevskolan, which is chiefly used by the study groups within the workers' education movement, consists of course books and study guides. Each section of a course is followed by recapitulatory questions, and at the end of each lesson questions are put for the group to answer in writing. Between group meetings, which are usually held once a week, the students work independently. At the meeting the answers are compared and the group works out from them the answers which it sends in to the school for revision and necessary correction. Pending the return of the answers from the institute the group works on the next lesson and the answers for which it calls. This form of instruction by correspondence is usually called a correspondence study circle.

There are, however, other forms. There is the teacher circle, where a special teacher goes through the study material with the students and helps them with the answers. Sometimes, again, the correspondence study material is used for preparatory study by students taking centrally organized residential courses. The object is that the students shall master the contents of the study material before coming to the courses and then at the course itself, acquire the teaching experience necessary to fit them to lead the work of a study group. These central residential courses are intended to train leaders for local study groups. Thus the correspondence method can be used in a number of ways in different settings.



A page from a high school course of the Nki-Skolan and a sequence of answers from a student. (Photo: Nki-Skolan/Institut Suedois, Paris.)

The mail room of the Hermods correspondence school.
(Photo: Hermods/Institut Suedois, Paris.)



Students are enrolled in study groups using correspondence courses just as in other branches of workers' education. Local trade unions, political clubs, consumers' societies, youth organizations etc., usually have special study organizers who are members of the organization's local governing body. Their duty is to take charge of the studies, procure the study material and draw up study programmes within their respective organizations. Applications are received from candidates at the organization's meetings or at their place of employment. In the larger towns the local branch of the ABF has a special office, to which a candidate may apply to take part in a study group or other educational activity. To be a member of a study group costs little. Trade unions and consumers' associations usually defray that part of their members' costs which is not covered by State grants.

SUBJECTS BEING STUDIED

An idea of the contents of correspondence courses can be gained from the list of subject headings.¹ A person interested in trade union matters can study the history of the trade

1. *List of subjects:* Foreign languages. Culture (reading lyrics; discussing art; art in everyday life; culture and the labour movement; contact with the theatre). Union administration (the modern speaker; the conduct of a meeting; methods of study; propaganda; trade union administration; industrial democracy; wages and wages policy; the clerical workers' movement; the law of negotiation; the technique of negotiation; the trade union movement and the community). Sociology (how Parliament works; women in social life; municipal administration; social policy, ends and means; labour legislation; handicapped persons in industry; sex education; home nursing; what do you know of yourself?; the history of the labour movement; the world's needs and ourselves; Sweden and the United States; the Soviet Union; Great Britain; the new China). Economics (where does the money go?; national economics; our national resources; production and prices; Swedish industrial life; Swedish shipping; the problem of full employment; the undertaking and the community; what the management does; how to read a balance-sheet). Psychology (fundamental problems of psychology; from infancy to school age; children's play and work; the child's encounter with culture; the psychology of youth; practical anthropology; thinking and discussion; human relations in industry; happiness at work). Popular knowledge (general history; newspapers and how to read them; locating and using books; astronomy; amateur theatricals; listening to jazz; the motor car; flowers in the home; the guitar and singing; physical training; photography; navigation; painting). Commerce and technology (the theory of commerce; business law; commercial correspondence; mathematics; arithmetic; elementary physics and chemistry; the use of the slide-rule; work studies). This list mentions only some of the courses available for study groups to choose from.

union movement, or trade union administration, i.e., how to conduct a meeting, write minutes, draft a collective agreement, and the like. It is also possible to study wages policy, social policy, national and international workers' safety legislation, national economics; industrial democracy, psychology or geography; rationalization and automation. Practically any matter affecting a trade union can be studied. This helps to spread interest in trade union questions. Trade union federations very often organize correspondence courses on their own activities. Such courses usually contain a general survey of the branch of industry within which the particular federation works, the industrial geography and economic conditions of its activity, and practical advice on trade union work. The federation's officials generally assist by undertaking the revision of the written answers to the study lessons. Thus contacts are established within the federation which are not only valuable for educational purposes but foster general co-operation throughout the federation.

The correspondence method, however, is used for other studies than those concerning the work of the organization itself, whether it is a trade union or a consumers' society. General educational subjects, such as literature, languages, psychology, philosophy, art, history, labour legislation, the drama, cultural discussion and cultural monuments, are of the first importance.

Correspondence courses can, of course, also be used for technical studies. Employers and trade unions draw up combined courses for the staff of a particular business or industry. Such courses exist for employees in the cellulose, iron and timber industries. They usually cover the processing of a product from raw material to consumer, and deal with both technical and economic problems. Groups studying these subjects are often led by administrative staff or engineers of their undertaking.

Sometimes, again, the head offices of trade unions will co-operate with employers' organizations and representatives of government authorities to arrange correspondence courses on subjects of special interest to them. Such courses have dealt with the work of the joint advisory committees of an undertaking, and with the theme 'Workers' protection pays'. The natural site for such group study has been the place of employment or the undertaking, and participants have come from employers, officials and workers. In this way good co-operation is fostered in places of employment even in matters not directly connected with the particular subject of study.

A great advantage of the correspondence method is that the contents of courses can be quickly adapted to new developments in particular branches of industry or in the life of the community. The group's attention can also be directed to matters which have or may acquire special topical interest. When it became necessary, on account of an increase in occupational hazards, to arouse interest in accident prevention at work, correspondence courses were a means of doing this and of training protection officers.

As another example of the flexibility of this method, when the problem of automation presented itself, the labour movement held two important conferences, one on the technical and economic side and the other on the changed situation of mankind in an 'automatized' society. Experts spoke on various aspects of the matter, and their addresses were published in a special volume. This was made the foundation of a study guide for group study in which the correspondence method was used. Thus a far wider field was covered than could have been covered simply by a book.

However, more is required for success—and this needs special emphasis—than the collection of good study material. This will not sell itself, and study groups do not form of their own accord. They must be backed by an organization which will support the work with action and money, and which will recruit for the groups by propaganda. The studies themselves, however, must not be propaganda but must be objective and based on all the facts that can be obtained and on a survey of their effects.

Such are the principles underlying the use of correspondence courses in Swedish workers' education.

THE UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

S. G. RAYBOULD

The university tutorial class is by general consent the most important contribution made to British adult education, including workers' education, in the twentieth century. It is a class sponsored by a university, and usually organized by the Workers' Educational Association (WEA). It lasts for three sessions of part-time study, each session comprising 24 weekly meetings, usually held in the winter months from September to March. Each meeting lasts two hours, and the members of the class, normally not more than 24 in number and often fewer, are required to do private study between meetings, under the tutor's direction.

That is the bare bones of the tutorial class. Its importance lies in the association thus established between working-class students and university teachers, and in the influence exercised by that association on the thought and outlook of many of the active spirits in the British labour movement, both workers and intellectuals. To understand how the association came to be established, it is necessary to look at the situation of British adult education at the beginning of this century, when the WEA came into being and the universities, or some of them, had been engaged in adult education for a quarter of a century.

The first university to accept responsibility for extra-mural teaching was Cambridge, which sponsored university extension courses for the first time in 1873. It was quickly followed by the universities of London and Oxford, and later by some of the new universities and university colleges in the provinces. The university extension movement flourished in the 1880s and 1890s, but although some of its most active organizers were very desirous that it should reach working-class students, generally speaking it was not successful in this aim. This failure was probably the most important factor leading directly to the establishment of the WEA in 1903. The founder of the association, Albert Mansbridge, was a young clerk in the co-operative movement who had been a student in university extension classes and at the summer schools held at Oxford and Cambridge for extension students. In this way, and as a result of his strong religious interests, which brought him into close contact with eminent figures in the Church of England, most of them influential members of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, he became acquainted with leading university men. On the other hand, his zeal for the principles of consumers' co-operation and for working-class advancement in general linked him with active co-operators and trade unionists at a formative period in the history of the British labour movement. Before the end of the nineteenth century he suggested a closer association between co-operative education and the university extension movement. In the early years of the twentieth century he was agitated by what he thought was irresponsible and ill-informed trade union leadership, particularly in the famous Taff Vale dispute of 1902, which resulted in a legal judgement that threatened the whole structure of British trade unionism. In 1903, drawing on this experience, he wrote three articles advocating close association between the university extension movement and working-class organizations, and later in the same year founded the WEA, at first under another name, to further such association.

BEGINNINGS OF THE TUTORIAL SYSTEM

For some years one of the principal activities of the new body was to try to arrange extension facilities for working-class groups; but although here and there some success was achieved, on the whole progress was slow, and it began to be apparent that the character of the extension movement as it had been formed since 1873 was not suited

to the outlook and needs of working men and women. A new start was needed, and it came in 1907, partly as the result of a conference at Oxford organized by the WEA, on the theme of 'Oxford and Working-class Education', and partly as a result of action taken at Rochdale by a group of students, largely working-class, who, in Mansbridge's words, 'reached out for something more than attendance at lectures'. The Rochdale initiative, in asking for a special class to be provided under university auspices, led to the organization of the first tutorial class, the Oxford conference to the establishment of a university WEA joint committee to put the new work on a permanent basis as part of the extra-mural activity of Oxford, additional to its extension facilities.

Once started, the tutorial class movement grew rapidly and attracted widespread interest and commendation. The Rochdale class began in January 1908, by which time a similar class was organized at Longton in the Potteries and actually held its first meeting a day before the first Rochdale meeting. The tutor of both classes, appointed by Oxford, was R. H. Tawney, then an assistant lecturer in economics at the university of Glasgow, and presently to become one of the most eminent of British economic historians, as well as president of the WEA. In the following winter Oxford started six more classes and established the joint committee already referred to, and in both respects its lead was quickly followed by the other universities and university colleges of the country. Classes were organized and joint committees with the WEA established, and as early as 1909 a Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes was established to 'combine the experience of the universities in regard to tutorial classes and . . . approach, when authorized to do so, bodies which affect more than one university'—bodies such as the Board of Education, which gave grants in aid of the classes, prescribed regulations to govern the grant, and appointed inspectors to visit the classes. It is a measure of the importance attached to this work by the universities, that the inaugural meeting of the Central Joint Advisory Committee is said to have been the first occasion on which representatives of all the universities in the country came together. In the winter before the first world war began, 1913-14, the number of tutorial classes meeting in England and Wales had risen to 145, with 3,234 students in attendance. The war checked expansion, but by no means destroyed the movement. On the contrary, it served to demonstrate its vitality, particularly as compared with the older university extension work which was still being carried on, by the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London in particular. During the war the number of tutorial classes never fell below 99, and towards and after its end the numbers of both classes and students rose rapidly. By 1928-29 there were 592 classes, with 10,167 students attending them. After that date expansion continued, but less rapidly, partly because of a stabilization of Board of Education grants in the early thirties. Nevertheless, in 1938-39 the number of classes had risen to 810, with 12,941 students in attendance.

During and for some years after the second world war trends were similar to those of the corresponding period twenty-five years before. There was at first a rapid fall in numbers, to 6,749 students in 1941-42, and 480 classes in 1942-43; but recovery began in the following year, and continued uninterruptedly till 1948-49, in which session the record number of 14,395 students were in attendance. In the next year or two the number of classes continued to rise, to a maximum of 938 in 1950-51, but the number of students fell a little. Since 1952-53 the number of both classes and students have fallen in each session, but in the last year, 1955-56, for which at the time of writing statistics are available, both were still slightly higher than in any pre-war year, at 844 classes and 12,966 students.

More is said near the end of this article about the present position and recent trends; but it is time to turn from statistics to consider methods and results.

METHODS AND RESULTS

The characteristic methods of the tutorial class derive partly from the fact that it is a type of adult education sponsored by universities and partly from the characteristics

and needs of the students and from the special purposes of the WEA, which represents the students' point of view and organizes the classes. Education at Oxford was, and is, conducted partly by means of lectures, but largely by means of the tutorial system, that is by an arrangement under which students write essays regularly on themes set by their tutors, for criticism by the latter. When the first tutorial classes were started, they combined both methods: class meetings usually began with a lecture, lasting an hour or so; but the students were also required to write essays regularly—one a fortnight—and these were criticized by the tutor, always in writing, sometimes in class as well. Arrangements were made for books to be available for study at home, and detailed syllabuses of work were prepared which included synopses of the ground to be covered in lectures, and advice on reading.

Mansbridge once said that the WEA was founded to provide educational facilities for 'labouring men and women'; and in the United Kingdom in the early part of this century such men and women usually received no full-time schooling after the age of fourteen, often none after thirteen, and sometimes none after twelve. Whatever their natural ability, therefore, they were frequently deficient in the capacity to study effectively and to express themselves accurately and cogently in speech or writing. It was partly in order to train them in these skills, as well as to teach them a 'subject', that the work of the tutorial class was planned to extend over at first two, and later three years, and that regular written work was insisted upon. Experience showed that, while progress was often slow in the first year, or even the first two years, of a course, the work done in the third was often of much higher quality than could have been foreseen at the beginning.

Class meetings did not, and do not, consist only of lectures by the tutor. On the contrary, it is an almost sacred rule that at least half the time of each class meeting be devoted to class work, which usually, although not always, takes the form of questions and discussion on the material treated in the lecture. The purpose of the questions and discussion is not simply to enable the students to elicit more information from the tutor. On the contrary, it is assumed that students themselves have knowledge and experience of the subjects being studied which should be made available to the rest of the class, and to the tutor, and the 'right' of each member of the class to contribute to its work in this way is jealously guarded. Mansbridge once expressed the principle involved by saying that a tutorial class does not consist of one tutor and thirty students, but of thirty-one students. A later observer suggested that it was more accurate to say that it consisted of thirty-one tutors. In either case, the idea is the same: that the method employed in the class should not be wholly didactic, since the students are mature persons who often have first-hand experience of the subject-matter of the course.

This assumes that the subjects generally studied in tutorial classes are aspects of personal or social behaviour. This is in fact the case, as is to be expected in the light of the avowed aims of the WEA, to promote 'education for social purpose', and to further the 'social and industrial emancipation' of the workers through appropriate education, as well as to assist the personal development of individual students. The work is non-vocational in character, and no examinations are set or qualifications granted. The curriculum of the WEA, and therefore of the tutorial class movement, comprises, on the one hand, social studies such as history, economics, politics, international relations, industrial relations, sociology, and social philosophy; and, on the other, subjects such as English literature, music, psychology, and philosophy with always a relatively small number of classes in such sciences as botany, biology and geology. Throughout the history of the movement the social studies have predominated, and it is here that worker-students' first-hand experience of the impact of social, industrial and political institutions and policies has been most valuable, and has most affected the outlook of the tutors as well as of other students.

It would be surprising if the passage of fifty years, fifty years full of social and educational change, had left no mark on the tutorial class. The figures given earlier, especially those relating to the years since 1948-49, which show that for the first time (except in periods of war or financial restrictions) numbers of classes and students have tended to fall, themselves constitute one important change—how important, and how significant, it is not yet possible to determine. A second striking change is in the kinds, or proportions, of students recruited. The WEA, has never been concerned only with manual workers; but the percentage of such workers in tutorial classes has always been regarded as an index of the extent to which its special purposes were being furthered. In the 1930s that percentage was never less than 32; since the end of the war it has never been more than 24; and in 1955-56 it was under 14. It is to the good that other kinds of students should wish in increasing numbers to avail themselves of the opportunities for prolonged and disciplined study under university auspices; but it will be a loss to the working-class movement, to the universities, and to British society if the links established by the tutorial class movement between the universities and the rank and file of industrial workers are weakened.

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FUNDAMENTAL AND ADULT EDUCATION

Vol. IX (1957), No. 4

EDITORIAL

THE USE OF VISUAL AND AUDITORY AIDS IN FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

For a long time now, educators and, with them or independently of them, all who wish to transmit information to the public have been using 'visual aids' in order to give concrete expression to their ideas or to illustrate a text, and so capture the reader's attention or at least sharpen his blunted curiosity. It would be easy to show that visual aids, and perhaps, 'auditory' aids as well, are as old as history. We need not, however, go back to the graphic masterpieces in prehistoric caves. Let us rather consider the reasons for publishing this special number of the Bulletin.

During the past ten or eleven years, since the last world war in fact, audio-visual aids have invaded not only education, but mass communication and even the private life of the ordinary citizen, who is assailed by posters in the streets and by wireless and television at home. Businessmen know their powerful influence, and sociologists are engaged in measuring it. Are educators to be the only ones to stand aloof, hostile or suspicious? That is the course that some recommend, regarding the abuse of such media as a threat to culture. But, apart from the fact that this attitude will not check the spread of communication techniques, do not intelligence and good sense require that we study them objectively, in the hope of 'disciplining' them? Nor must we forget that there are immense regions of the globe where men, far from being over supplied with information, are so completely deprived of it that they are daily becoming more handicapped in comparison with other, technologically more advanced civilizations which are accumulating means of production and thus accentuating inequalities in wealth and incomes. Fifty to ninety percent of the people in these less fortunate regions can neither read nor write and have no chance of acquiring literacy by the ordinary methods of schooling. Ought we not to use, for their benefit, the new tools whose limits and drawbacks, but also whose undoubted advantages, we now know? What then are these advantages and disadvantages? The authors of the articles in this issue have tried, with praiseworthy objectivity, to present them to us.

All the same they place more emphasis on the advantages than on the disadvantages, as can readily be understood. By vocation and professional training they are educators. They never forget that the media at their command, however effective, remain 'auxiliaries'. An educator who thoroughly understands these new techniques has no trouble in eliminating the drawbacks involved in their use, and in retaining their advantages. More than that, he can derive profit from some defect, some imperfection in films,